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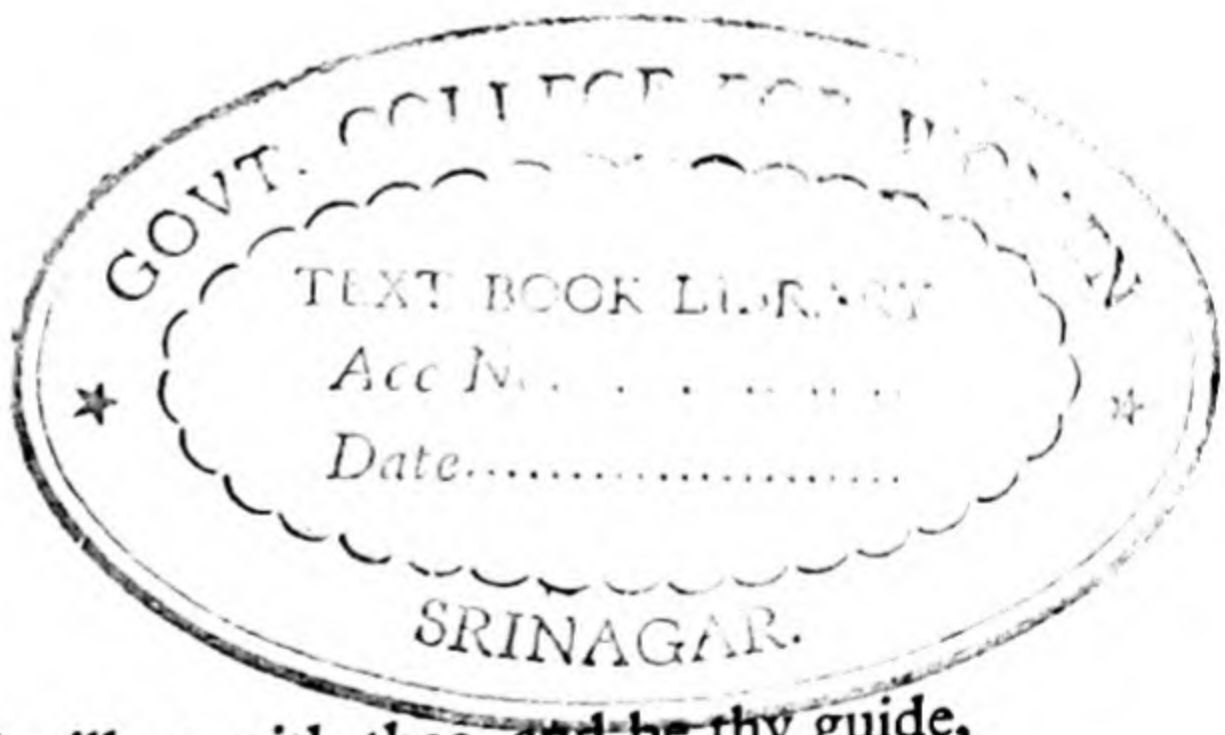

Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,
In thy most need to go by thy side

ROBERT BURTON, born in 1577. Entered Brasenose College, Oxford, 1593. Student of Christ Church, 1599; B.D., 1614. Vicar of St Thomas's, Oxford, 1616, and rector of Seagrave from 1630 until his death in 1640.

COMPUTRIZED

ROBERT BURTON

THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY

IN THREE VOLUMES · VOLUME TWO

INTRODUCTION BY
HOLBROOK JACKSON

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THE SYNOPSIS OF THE SECOND PARTITION

Cure of melancholy is either

- **Particular to the three distinct species,** ♋ ♌ ♍
- **Sect. 1. General to all, which contains**
  - **Unlawful means forbidden,** or **Lawful means, which are**
    - *Memb.*
      1. From the devil, magicians, witches, etc., by charms, spells, incantations, images, etc.
         Quest. 1. Whether they can cure this, or other such-like diseases?
         Quest. 2. Whether, if they can so cure, it be lawful to seek to them for help?
    - or
      2. Immediately from God, *a Jove principium*, by prayer, etc.
      3. *Quest.* 1. Whether saints and their relics can help this infirmity?
         Quest. 2. Whether it be lawful in this case to sue them for aid?
    - or
      4. Mediately by Nature which concerns and works by
         - *Subsect.*
           1. *Physician*, in whom is required science, confidence, honesty, etc.
           2. *Patient*, in whom is required obedience, constancy, willingness, patience, confidence, bounty, etc., not to practise on himself.
           3. *Physic*, which consists of
              - Dietetical ♈
              - Pharmaceutical ♉
              - Chirurgical ♊

♈ Sect. 2 Dietetical, which consists in reforming those six non-natural things, as in

- **Diet rectified. 1. *Memb.***
  - **Matter and quality. 1. *Subs.***
    - Such meats as are easy of digestion, well-dressed, hot sod, etc., young, moist, of good nourishment, etc.
    - Bread of pure wheat, well-baked.
    - Water clear from the fountain.
    - Wine and drink not too strong, etc.
    - Flesh — Mountain birds, partridge, pheasant, quails, etc., hen, capon, mutton, veal, kid, rabbit, etc.
    - Fish — That live in gravelly waters, as pike, perch, trout, sea-fish, solid, white, etc.
    - Herbs — Borage, bugloss, balm, succory, endive, violets, in broth, not raw, etc.
    - Fruits and roots. — Raisins of the sun, apples corrected for wind, oranges, etc., parsnips, potatoes, etc.
  - or
  - **2. Quantity.** At seasonable and usual times of repast, in good order, not before the first be concocted, sparing, not overmuch of one dish.
- **2. Rectification of retention and evacuation, as costiveness, venery, bleeding at nose, months stopped, baths, etc.**
- **3. Air, rectified, with a digression of the air.**
  - Naturally, in the choice and site of our country, dwelling-place, to be hot and moist, light, wholesome, pleasant, etc.
  - Artificially, by often change of air, avoiding winds, fogs, tempests, opening windows, perfumes, etc.
- **4. Exercise.**
  - Of body and mind, but moderate, as hawking, hunting, riding, shooting, bowling, fishing, fowling, walking in fair fields, galleries, tennis, bars.
  - Of mind, as chess, cards, tables, etc. to see plays, masks, etc., serious studies, business, all honest recreations.
- **5. Rectification of waking and terrible dreams, etc.**
- **6. Rectification of passions and perturbations of the mind.** ♎

Memb. 6. Passions and perturbations of the mind rectified.

- From himself — *Subsect.*
  1. By using all good means of help, confessing to a friend, etc.
     Avoiding all occasions of his infirmity.
     Not giving way to passions, but resisting to his utmost.
- or — from his friends.
  2. By fair and foul means, counsel, comfort, good persuasion, witty devices, fictions, and, if it be possible, to satisfy his mind.
  3. Music of all sorts aptly applied.
  4. Mirth and merry company.

Sect. 3. A consolatory digression, containing remedies to all discontents and passions of the mind.

Memb.
1. General discontents and grievances satisfied.
2. Particular discontents, as deformity of body, sickness, baseness of birth, etc.
3. Poverty and want, such calamities and adversities.
4. Against servitude, loss of liberty, imprisonment, banishment, etc.
5. Against vain fears, sorrows for death of friends, or otherwise.
6. Against envy, livor, hatred, malice, emulation, ambition, and self-love, etc.
7. Against repulses, abuses, injuries, contempts, disgraces, contumelies, slanders, and scoffs, etc.
8. Against all other grievous and ordinary symptoms of this disease of melancholy.

Sect. 4. Pharmaceutics, or Physic which cureth with medicines, with a digression of this kind of physic, is either *Memb.* 1. *Subsect.* 1.

- General to all
- or — Alterative
  - Simples altering melancholy, with a digression of exotic simples. 2. *Subs.*
    - Herbs. 3. *Subs.*
      - To the heart; borage, bugloss, scorzonera, etc.
      - To the head; balm, hops, nenuphar, etc.
      - Liver; eupatory, artemisia, etc.
      - Stomach; wormwood, centaury, pennyroyal.
      - Spleen; ceterach, ash, tamarisk.
      - To purify the blood; endive, succory, etc.
      - Against wind; origan, fennel, aniseed, etc.
    - 4. Precious stones; as smaragdes, chelidonies, etc.
      Minerals; as gold, etc.
  - or
  - Compounds altering melancholy, with a digression of compounds. 1. *Subs.*
    - Inwardly taken
      - Liquid
        - fluid
          - Wines; as of hellebore, bugloss, tamarisk, etc.
          - Syrups of borage, bugloss, hops, epithyme, endive, succory, etc.
        - or
        - consisting.
          - Conserves of violets, maidenhair, borage, bugloss, roses, etc.
          - Confections; treacle, mithridate, eclegms or linctures.
      - or
      - solid, as those aromatical confections.
        - hot
          - Diambra, dianthos.
          - Diamargaritum calidum.
          - Diamoschum dulce.
          - Electuarium de gemmis.
          - Laetificans Galeni et Rhasis
        - or
        - cold
          - Diamargaritum frigidum.
          - Diarrhodon abbatis.
          - Diacoralli, diacodium with their tables.
        - Condites of all sorts, etc.
    - or
    - Outwardly used, as
      - Oils of camomile, violets, roses, etc.
      - Ointments, alabastritum, populeum, etc.
      - Liniments, plasters, cerotes, cataplasms, frontals, fomentations, epithemes, sacks, bags, odoraments, posies, etc.
- or
- Purging ☿
- Particular to the three distinct species, ♋ ♌ ♍.

- **Medicines purging melancholy, are either** *Memb.* 2.
  - **Simples purging melancholy.**
    - 1. *Subs.* Upward, as vomits.
      - Asarabacca, laurel, white hellebore, scilla, or sea-onion, antimony, tobacco.
    - or Downward.
      - More gentle; as senna, epithyme, polypody, myrobalanes, fumitory, etc.
      - Stronger; aloes, lapis Armenus, lapis lazuli, black hellebore.
    - 2. *Subs.*
  - or
  - **3. *Subs.* Compounds purging melancholy.**
    - Superior parts.
      - Mouth
        - swallowed, or
          - Liquid, as potions, juleps, syrups, wine of hellebore, bugloss, etc.
          - Solid, as lapis Armenus and lazuli, pills of Indy, pills of fumitory, etc.
          - Electuaries, diasenna, confection of hamech, hierologadium, etc.
        - or Not swallowed, as gargarisms, masticatories, etc.
      - or Nostrils, sneezing powders, odoraments, perfumes, etc.
    - or Inferior parts, as clysters strong and weak, and suppositories of Castilian soap, honey boiled, etc.

- **II Chirurgical physic, which consists of** *Memb.* 3.
  - Phlebotomy, to all parts almost, and all the distinct species.
  - With knife, horseleeches.
  - Cupping-glasses.
  - Cauteries, and searing with hot irons, boring.
  - Dropax and sinapismus.
  - Issues to several parts, and upon several occasions.

- ☞ *Sect.* 5. **Cure of head-melancholy.** *Memb.* 1.
  - 1. *Subsect.*
    - Moderate diet, meat of good juice, moistening, easy of digestion.
    - Good air.
    - Sleep more than ordinary.
    - Excrements daily to be voided by art or nature.
    - Exercise of body and mind not too violent, or too remiss, passions of the mind, and perturbations to be avoided.
  - 2. Blood-letting, if there be need, or that the blood be corrupt, in the arm, forehead, etc., or with cupping-glasses.
  - **3. Preparatives and purgers.**
    - Preparatives; as syrup of borage, bugloss, epithyme, hops, with their distilled waters, etc.
    - Purgers; as Montanus' and Matthiolus' helleborismus, Quercetanus' syrup of hellebore, extract of hellebore, pulvis Hali, antimony prepared, *Rulandi aqua mirabilis*; which are used, if gentler medicines will not take place, with Arnoldus' *vinum buglossatum*, senna, cassia, myrobalanes, *aurum potabile*, or before Hamech, pil. Indæ, hiera, pil. de lap. Armeno, lazuli.
  - **4. Averters.**
    - Cardan's nettles, frictions, clysters, suppositories, sneezings, masticatories, nasals, cupping-glasses.
    - To open the hemrods with horseleeches, to apply horseleeches to the forehead without scarification, to the shoulders, thighs.
    - Issues, boring, cauteries, hot irons in the suture of the crown.
  - **5. Cordials, resolvers, hinderers.**
    - A cup of wine or strong drink.
    - Bezoar's stone, amber, spice.
    - Conserves of borage, bugloss, roses, fumitory.
    - Confection of alkermes.
    - *Electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, etc.*
    - *Diamargaritum frigidum, diaboraginatum, etc.*

- 6. Correctors of accidents as,
  - Odoraments of roses, violets.
  - Irrigations of the head, with the decoctions of nymphæa, lettuce, mallows, etc.
  - Epithemes, ointments, bags to the heart.
  - Fomentations of oil for the belly.
  - Baths of sweet water, in which were sod mallows, violets, roses, water-lilies, borage flowers, ramsheads, etc.
  - To procure sleep, and are
    - Inwardly taken,
      - Simples — Poppy, nymphæa, lettuce, roses, purslane, henbane, mandrake, nightshade, opium, etc.
      - or
      - Compounds — Liquid, as syrups of poppy, verbasco, violets, roses.
      - Compounds — Solid, as *requies Nicholai, Philonium Romanum, Laudanum Paracelsi.*
    - or
    - Outwardly used, as
      - Oil of nymphæa, poppy, violets, roses, mandrake, nutmegs.
      - Odoraments of vinegar, rose-water, opium.
      - Frontals of rose-cake, rose-vinegar, nutmeg.
      - Ointments, alabastritum, unguentum populeum, simple or mixed with opium.
      - Irrigations of the head, feet, sponges, music, murmur and noise of waters.
      - Frictions of the head and outward parts, sacculi of henbane, wormwood at his pillow, etc.
  - Against terrible dreams; not to sup late, or eat peas, cabbage, venison, meats heavy of digestion, use balm, hart's-tongue, etc.
  - Against ruddiness and blushing, inward and outward remedies.

- ♌ 2. *Memb.* Cure of melancholy over the body.
  - Diet, preparatives, purges, averters, cordials, correctors, as before.
  - Phlebotomy in this kind more necessary, and more frequent.
  - To correct and cleanse the blood with fumitory, senna, succory, dandelion, endive, etc.

- ♍ Cure of hypochondriacal or windy melancholy, 3. *Memb.*
  - *Subsect.* 1.
  - Phlebotomy, if need require.
  - Diet, preparatives, averters, cordials, purgers, as before, saving that they must not be so vehement.
  - Use of pennyroyal, wormwood, centaury sod, which alone hath cured many.
  - To provoke urine with aniseed, daucus, asarum, etc., and stools, if need be, by clysters and suppositories.
  - To respect the spleen, stomach, liver, hypochondries.
  - To use treacle now and then in winter.
  - To vomit after meals sometimes, if it be inveterate.
  - 2. To expel wind.
    - Inwardly taken,
      - Simples, or Compounds, as
        - Roots, — Galanga, gentian, enula, angelica, calamus aromaticus, zedoary, china, condite ginger, etc.
        - Herbs, — Pennyroyal, rue, calamint, bay leaves and berries, scordium, betony, lavender, camomile, centaury, wormwood, cummin, broom, orange-flowers.
        - Spices, — Saffron, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, pepper, musk, zedoary with wine, etc.
        - Seeds, — Aniseed, fennel-seed, ammi, cary, cummin, nettle, bays, parsley, grana paradisi.
      - or
      - Dianisum, diagalanga, diaciminum, diacalaminthes, electuarium de baccis lauri, benedicta, laxativa, etc., pulvis carminativus, and pulvis descrip. Antidotario Florentino, aromaticum rosatum, mithridate.
    - Outwardly used, as cupping-glasses to the hypochondries without scarification, oil of camomile, rue, aniseed, their decoctions, etc.

THE SECOND PARTITION

THE CURE OF MELANCHOLY

THE FIRST SECTION, MEMBER, SUBSECTION

Unlawful Cures rejected

INVETERATE Melancholy, howsoever it may seem to be a continuate, inexorable disease, hard to be cured, accompanying them to their graves, most part, as Montanus observes,[1] yet many times it may be helped, even that which is most violent, or at least, according to the same author,[2] "it may be mitigated and much eased." *Nil desperandum* [never despair]. It may be hard to cure, but not impossible for him that is most grievously affected, if he be but willing to be helped.

Upon this good hope I will proceed, using the same method in the cure, which I have formerly used in the rehearsing of the causes; first general, then particular; and those according to their several species. Of these cures some be lawful, some again unlawful, which though frequent, familiar, and often used, yet justly censured, and to be controverted. As first, whether by these diabolical means which are commonly practised by the devil and his ministers, sorcerers, witches, magicians, etc., by spells, cabalistical words, charms, characters, images, amulets, ligatures, philters, incantations, etc., this disease and the like may be cured? and if they may, whether it be lawful to make use of them, those magnetical cures, or for our good to seek after such means in any case? The first, whether they can do any such cures, is questioned amongst many writers, some affirming, some denying. Valesius, *Cont. med. lib.* 5, *cap.* 6; *Malleus Maleficarum*; Heurnius, *lib.* 3 *pract. med. cap.* 28; Cælius, *lib.* 16, *cap.* 16; Delrio, *tom.* 3; Wierus, *lib.* 2 *de præstig. dæm.*; Libanius; Lavater, *de spect. part.* 2, *cap.* 7; Holbrenner the Lutheran, *in Pistorium*; Polydore Virg., *lib.* 1 *de prodig.*; Tandlerus; Lemnius (Hippocrates and Avicenna amongst the rest), deny that spirits or devils have any power over us, and refer all with Pomponatius of Padua to natural causes and humours. Of the other opinion are Bodinus, *Dæmonomantiæ lib.* 3, *cap.* 2;

Arnoldus; Marcellus Empiricus; J. Pistorius; Paracelsus, *Apodeix. Magic.*; Agrippa, *lib. 2 de occult. Philos. cap.* 36, 69, 71, 72, *et lib.* 3, *cap.* 23 *et* 10; Marsilius Ficinus, *de vit. cœlit. compar. cap.* 13, 15, 18, 21, etc.; Galeottus, *de promiscua doct. cap.* 24; Jovianus Pontanus, *tom. 2*; Plin., *lib.* 28, *cap.* 2; Strabo, *lib.* 15 *Geog.*; Leo Suavius; Goclenius, *de ung. armar.*; Oswaldus Crollius; Ernestus Burgravius; Dr. Flud, etc. Cardan, *de subt.*, brings many proofs out of *Ars Notoria* and Solomon's decayed works, old Hermes, Artesius, Costaben Luca, Picatrix, etc., that such cures may be done. They can make fire it shall not burn, fetch back thieves or stolen goods, show their absent faces in a glass, make serpents lie still, stanch blood, salve gouts, epilepsies, biting of mad dogs, toothache, melancholy, *et omnia mundi mala* [and all the ills of the world], make men immortal, young again as the Spanish marquess is said to have done by one of his slaves,[1] and some, which jugglers in China maintain still (as Tragaltius writes[2]) that they can do by their extraordinary skill in physic, and some of our modern chemists by their strange limbecks, by their spells, philosopher's stones and charms. "Many doubt," saith Nicholas Taurellus, "whether the devil can cure such diseases he hath not made, and some flatly deny it; howsoever, common experience confirms to our astonishment that magicians can work such feats, and that the devil without impediment can penetrate through all the parts of our bodies, and cure such maladies by means to us unknown."[3] Danæus, in his tract *de sortiariis*, subscribes to this of Taurellus; Erastus, *de lamiis*, maintaineth as much, and so do most divines, that out of their excellent knowledge and long experience they can commit *agentes cum patientibus*,[4] *colligere semina rerum, eaque materiæ applicare* [agents with patients, collect the seeds of things, and apply them to matter], as Austin infers, *de Civ. Dei, et de Trinit. lib.* 3, *cap.* 7 *et* 8; they can work stupend and admirable conclusions; we see the effects only, but not the causes of them. Nothing so familiar as to hear of such cures. Sorcerers are too common; cunning men, wizards, and white witches, as they call them, in every village, which, if they be sought unto, will help almost all infirmities of body and mind, *servatores* in Latin, and they have commonly St. Catherine's wheel printed in the roof of their mouth, or in some other part about them; *resistunt incantatorum præstigiis* (Boissardus writes[5]), *morbos a sagis motos propulsant* [they resist the tricks of enchanters, they repel the diseases brought by wizards], etc., that to doubt of it any longer, "or not to believe, were to

run into that other sceptical extreme of incredulity," [1] saith Taurellus. Leo Suavius, in his Comment upon Paracelsus, seems to make it an art, which ought to be approved; Pistorius and others stiffly maintain the use of charms, words, characters, etc. *Ars vera est, sed pauci artifices reperiuntur;* the art is true, but there be but a few that have skill in it. Marcellus Donatus, *lib. 2 de hist. mir. cap.* 1, proves out of Josephus' eighth book of Antiquities, that "Solomon so cured all the diseases of the mind by spells, charms, and drove away devils, and that Eleazar did as much before Vespasian." [2] Langius, in his *Med. epist.*, holds Jupiter Menecrates, that did so many stupend cures in his time, to have used this art, and that he was no other than a magician. Many famous cures are daily done in this kind, the devil is an expert physician, as Godelman calls him, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 18, and God permits oftentimes these witches and magicians to produce such effects, as Lavater, *cap.* 3, *lib.* 8, *part.* 3, *cap.* 1, Polyd. Virg., *lib.* 1 *de prodigiis*, Delrio, and others admit. Such cures may be done, and as Paracelsus, *tom.* 4, *de morb. ament.*, stiffly maintains, "they cannot otherwise be cured but by spells, seals, and spiritual physic." [3] Arnoldus, *lib. de sigillis*, sets down the making of them,[4] so doth Rulandus and many others.

Hoc posito [this being granted, that] they can effect such cures, the main question is whether it be lawful in a desperate case to crave their help, or ask a wizard's advice. 'Tis a common practice of some men to go first to a witch, and then to a physician, if one cannot the other shall, *Flectere si nequeant superos, Acheronta movebunt* [if they cannot move the gods above, they will stir up those below]. "It matters not," saith Paracelsus,[5] "whether it be God or the devil, angels or unclean spirits cure him, so that he be eased." If a man fall into a ditch, as he prosecutes it, what matter is it whether a friend or an enemy help him out? and if I be troubled with such a malady, what care I whether the devil himself, or any of his ministers by God's permission, redeem me? He calls a magician God's minister and His vicar,[6] applying that of *Vos estis dii* [7] [ye are gods] profanely to them, for which he is lashed by T. Erastus, *part.* 1, *fol.* 45. And elsewhere he encourageth his patients to have a good faith, "a strong imagination, and they shall find the effects: let divines say to the contrary what they will." [8] He proves and contends that many diseases cannot otherwise be cured. *Incantatione orti, incantatione curari debent:* if they be caused by incantation, they must be cured by

incantation.[1] Constantinus, *lib.* 4, approves of such remedies: Bartolus the lawyer, Peter Ærodius, *rerum Judic. lib.* 3, *tit.* 7, Salicetus, Godefridus, with others of that sect, allow of them, *modo sint ad sanitatem, quæ a magis fiunt, secus non,* so they be for the parties' good, or not at all. But these men are confuted by Remigius, Bodinus, *Dæm. lib.* 3, *cap.* 2; Godelmannus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 8; Wierus; Delrio, *lib.* 6, *quæst.* 2, *tom.* 3, *Mag. inquis.*; Erastus, *de lamiis*; all our divines,[2] schoolmen, and such as write cases of conscience are against it, the Scripture itself absolutely forbids it as a mortal sin (Levit. xviii, xix, xx; Deut. xviii, etc.); Rom. vii 19: "Evil is not to be done, that good may come of it." Much better it were for such patients that are so troubled, to endure a little misery in this life, than to hazard their souls' health for ever, and as Delrio counselleth, "much better die, than be so cured."[3] Some take upon them to expel devils by natural remedies, and magical exorcisms, which they seem to approve out of the practice of the primitive Church, as that above cited of Josephus, Eleazar, Irenæus, Tertullian, Austin. Eusebius makes mention of such, and magic itself hath been publicly professed in some universities, as of old in Salamanca in Spain, and Cracovia in Poland: but condemned, *anno* 1318, by the chancellor and university of Paris.[4] Our pontificial writers retain many of these adjurations and forms of exorcisms still in the Church; besides those in baptism used, they exorcise meats, and such as are possessed, as they hold, in Christ's name. Read Hieron. Mengus, *cap.* 3, Pet. Thyræus, *part.* 3, *cap.* 8, what exorcisms they prescribe, besides those ordinary means of "fire, suffumigations, lights, cutting the air with swords,"[5] *cap.* 57, herbs, odours: of which Tostatus treats, 2 *Reg. cap.* 16, *quæst.* 43. You shall find many vain and frivolous superstitious forms of exorcisms among them, not to be tolerated or endured.

MEMB. II.

Lawful Cures, first from God

Being so clearly evinced, as it is, all unlawful cures are to be refused, it remains to treat of such as are to be admitted, and those are commonly such which God hath appointed, by virtue of stones, herbs, plants, meats, etc., and the like,[6] which are prepared and applied to our use by art and industry of physicians,

who are the dispensers of such treasures for our good, and to be "honoured for necessity's sake," [1] God's intermediate ministers, to whom in our infirmities we are to seek for help. Yet not so that we rely too much, or wholly upon them: *a Jove principium*, we must first begin with prayer,[2] and then use physic; not one without the other, but both together. To pray alone, and reject ordinary means, is to do like him in Æsop, that when his cart was stalled, lay flat on his back, and cried aloud, "Help, Hercules!" but that was to little purpose, except (as his friend advised him, *Rotis tute ipse annitaris* [put your shoulder to the wheel yourself]) he whipped his horses withal, and put his shoulder to the wheel. God works by means, as Christ cured the blind man with clay and spittle: *Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.* As we must pray for health of body and mind, so we must use our utmost endeavours to preserve and continue it. Some kind of devils are not cast out but by fasting and prayer, and both necessarily required, not one without the other. For all the physic we can use, art, excellent industry, is to no purpose without calling upon God, *nil juvat immensos Cratero promittere montes* [it avails not to promise Craterus a gold mine]: it is in vain to seek for help, run, ride, except God bless us.

Non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non animum citharæve cantus.[3]

[No dainty meal, no song of bird or lyre shall coax him to sweet slumber.]

Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri
Ægroto possunt domino deducere febres.[4]

With house, with land, with money, and with gold,
The master's fever will not be controll'd.[5]

We must use our prayer and physic both together: and so no doubt but our prayers will be available, and our physic take effect. 'Tis that Hezekiah practised (2 Kings, xx), Luke the Evangelist; and which we are enjoined (Coloss. iv), not the patient only, but the physician himself. Hippocrates, an heathen, required this in a good practitioner, and so did Galen, *lib. de Plat. et Hipp. dog. lib.* 9, *cap.* 15, and in that tract of his, *an mores sequantur temp. cor. cap.* 11; 'tis a rule which he doth inculcate, and many others.[6] Hyperius in his first book *de sacr. script. lect.*, speaking of that happiness and good success which all physicians desire and hope for in their cures, tells

them that "it is not to be expected, except with a true faith they call upon God, and teach their patients to do the like."[1] The Council of Lateran, Canon 22, decreed they should do so; the Fathers of the Church have still advised as much. "Whatsoever thou takest in hand" (saith Gregory[2]) "let God be of thy counsel, consult with Him, that healeth those that are broken in heart (Ps. cxlvii, 3), and bindeth up their sores." Otherwise, as the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xlvi, 11, denounced to Egypt, "In vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt have no health." It is the same counsel which Comineus,[3] that politic historiographer, gives to all Christian princes, upon occasion of that unhappy overthrow of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, by means of which he was extremely melancholy, and sick to death, insomuch that neither physic nor persuasion could do him any good, perceiving his preposterous error belike, adviseth all great men in such cases, "to pray first to God with all submission and penitency, to confess their sins, and then to use physic."[4] The very same fault it was which the prophet reprehends in Asa, King of Judah, that he relied more on physic than on God, and by all means would have him to amend it. And 'tis a fit caution to be observed of all other sorts of men. The prophet David was so observant of this precept, that in his greatest misery and vexation of mind he put this rule first in practice: Ps. lxxvii, 3, "When I am in heaviness, I will think on God"; Ps. lxxxvi, 4, "Comfort the soul of thy servant, for unto thee I lift up my soul," and verse 7, "In the day of trouble will I call upon thee, for thou hearest me"; Ps. liv, 1, "Save me, O God, by thy name," etc.; Ps. lxxxii, Ps. xx. And 'tis the common practice of all good men: Ps. cvii, 13, "When their heart was humbled with heaviness, they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them from their distress." And they have found good success in so doing, as David confesseth (Ps. xxx, 12), "Thou hast turned my mourning into joy, thou hast loosed my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness." Therefore he adviseth all others to do the like (Ps. xxxi, 24), "All ye that trust in the Lord, be strong, and he shall establish your heart." It is reported by Suidas,[5] speaking of Hezekiah, that there was a great book of old, of King Solomon's writing, which contained medicines for all manner of diseases, and lay open still as they came into the temple: but Hezekiah, King of Jerusalem, caused it to be taken away, because it made the people secure, to neglect their duty in calling and relying upon God, out of a confidence on those remedies. Minucius,[6] that

worthy consul of Rome, in an oration he made to his soldiers, was much offended with them, and taxed their ignorance, that in their misery called more on him than upon God. A general fault it is all over the world, and Minucius his speech concerns us all, we rely more on physic, and seek oftener to physicians, than to God himself. As much faulty are they that prescribe as they that ask, respecting wholly their gain, and trusting more to their ordinary receipts and medicines many times than to him that made them. I would wish all patients in this behalf, in the midst of their melancholy, to remember that of Siracides (Ecclus. i, 11 and 12), "The fear of the Lord is glory, and gladness, and rejoicing. The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth gladness, and joy, and long life": and all such as prescribe physic, to begin *in nomine Dei* [in the name of God], as Mesue did,[1] to imitate Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, that in all his Consultations still concludes with a prayer for the good success of his business; and to remember that of Crato, one of their predecessors, *fuge avaritiam, et sine oratione et invocatione Dei nihil facias*, avoid covetousness, and do nothing without invocation upon God.

MEMB. III.

Whether it be lawful to seek to Saints for Aid in this Disease

THAT we must pray to God, no man doubts; but whether we should pray to saints in such cases, or whether they can do us any good, it may be lawfully controverted. Whether their images, shrines, relics, consecrated things, holy water, medals, benedictions, those divine amulets, holy exorcisms, and the sign of the cross, be available in this disease? The papists on the one side stiffly maintain how many melancholy, mad, demoniacal persons are daily cured at St. Anthony's Church in Padua, at St. Vitus' in Germany, by our Lady of Loretto in Italy, our Lady of Sichem in the Low Countries, *quæ et cæcis lumen, ægris salutem, mortuis vitam, claudis gressum reddit, omnes morbos corporis, animi, curat, et in ipsos dæmones imperium exercet:*[2] she cures halt, lame, blind, all diseases of body and mind, and commands the devil himself, saith Lipsius; "twenty-five thousand in a day come thither," *quis nisi numen in illum locum sic induxit?*[3] who brought them? *in auribus, in oculis*

omnium gesta, nova novitia: new news lately done, our eyes and ears are full of her cures, and who can relate them all? They have a proper saint almost for every peculiar infirmity: for poison, gouts, agues, Petronella; St. Romanus for such as are possessed; Valentine for the falling sickness; St. Vitus for madmen, etc.; and as of old Pliny reckons up gods for all diseases [1] (*Febri fanum dicatum est* [a temple was dedicated to Fever]; Lilius Giraldus repeats many of her ceremonies), all affections of the mind were heretofore accounted gods,[2] Love, and Sorrow, Virtue, Honour, Liberty, Contumely, Impudency, had their temples, tempests, seasons, *Crepitus Ventris*, *dea Vacuna*, *dea Cloacina*, there was a goddess of idleness, a goddess of the draught or jakes, Prema, Premunda, Priapus, bawdy gods, and gods for all offices.[3] Varro reckons up 30,000 gods: Lucian makes Podagra (the gout) a goddess, and assigns her priests and ministers: and Melancholy comes not behind; for as Austin mentioneth, *lib.* 4 *de Civit. Dei*, *cap.* 9, there was of old *Angerona dea*, and she had her chapel and feasts, to whom (saith Macrobius [4]) they did offer sacrifice yearly, that she might be pacified as well as the rest. 'Tis no new thing, you see this of papists; and in my judgment, that old doting Lipsius might have fitter dedicated his pen, after all his labours, to this our goddess of melancholy, than to his *Virgo Hallensis*,[5] and been her chaplain, it would have become him better: but he, poor man, thought no harm in that which he did, and will not be persuaded but that he doth well; he hath so many patrons, and honourable precedents in the like kind, that justify as much, as eagerly, and more than he there saith of his lady and mistress: read but superstitious Coster and Gretser's tract *de Cruce Laur.*; Arcturus Fanteus, *de Invoc. Sanct.*; Bellarmine; Delrio, *Dis. mag. tom.* 3, *lib.* 6, *quæst.* 2, *sect.* 3; Greg. Tholosanus, *tom.* 2, *lib.* 8, *cap.* 24, *Syntax.*; Strozzius Cicogna, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 9; Tyreus; Hieronymus Mengus, and you shall find infinite examples of cures done in this kind, by holy waters, relics, crosses, exorcisms, amulets, images, consecrated beads, etc. Barradius the Jesuit boldly gives it out, that Christ's countenance, and the Virgin Mary's, would cure melancholy, if one had looked steadfastly on them. P. Morales the Spaniard, in his book *de pulch, Jes. et Mar.*, confirms the same out of Carthusianus and I know not whom, that it was a common proverb in those days for such as were troubled in mind to say, *Eamus ad videndum filium Mariæ*, let us see the son of Mary, as they now do post to St. Anthony's in Padua, or to St. Hilary's at Poictiers in France. In a closet

of that church, there is at this day St. Hilary's bed to be seen, "to which they bring all the madmen in the country, and after some prayers and other ceremonies, they lay them down there to sleep, and so they recover." [1] It is an ordinary thing in those parts to send all their madmen to St. Hilary's cradle. They say the like of St. Tubery in another place.[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb. cap.* 1, tells strange stories of St. Ciricius' staff, that would cure this and all other diseases. Others say as much (as Hospinian observes [3]) of the three kings of Cologne; their names written in parchment, and hung about a patient's neck, with the sign of the cross, will produce like effects. Read Lipomannus, or that Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, you shall have infinite stories, or those new relations of our Jesuits in Japan and China,[4] of Mat. Riccius, Acosta, Loyola, Xaverius' life, etc. Jasper Belga, a Jesuit, cured a mad woman by hanging St. John's Gospel about her neck, and many such. Holy water did as much in Japan, etc. Nothing so familiar in their works, as such examples.

But we on the other side seek to God alone. We say with David (Ps. xlvi, 1) "God is our hope and strength, and help in trouble, ready to be found." For their catalogue of examples, we make no other answer but that they are false fictions, or diabolical illusions, counterfeit miracles. We cannot deny but that it is an ordinary thing on St. Anthony's Day in Padua, to bring divers madmen and demoniacal persons to be cured: yet we make a doubt whether such parties be so affected indeed, but prepared by their priests, by certain ointments and drams, to cozen the commonalty, as Hildesheim well saith;[5] the like is commonly practised in Bohemia, as Matthiolus gives us to understand in his preface to his Comment upon Dioscorides. But we need not run so far for examples in this kind, we have a just volume published at home to this purpose: "A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to withdraw the hearts of religious men under pretence of casting out of devils, practised by Father Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Romish priests, his wicked associates, with the several parties' names, confessions, examinations, etc., which were pretended to be possessed." [6] But these are ordinary tricks only to get opinion and money, mere impostures. Æsculapius of old, that counterfeit god, did as many famous cures; his temple (as Strabo relates [7]) was daily full of patients, and as many several tables, inscriptions, pendants, donaries, etc., to be seen in his church,

as at this day our Lady of Loretto's in Italy. It was a custom long since,

suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo.[1]

[For those who escaped shipwreck to hang up their dripping garments in the temple of Neptune.]

To do the like, in former times they were seduced and deluded as they are now. 'Tis the same devil still, called heretofore Apollo, Mars, Neptune, Venus, Æsculapius, etc., as Lactantius, *lib. 2 de orig. erroris, cap.* 17, observes.[2] The same Jupiter and those bad angels are now worshipped and adored by the name of St. Sebastian, Barbara, etc.; Christopher and George are come in their places. Our Lady succeeds Venus (as they use her in many offices), the rest are otherwise supplied, as Lavater writes,[3] and so they are deluded. "And God often winks at these impostures, because they forsake His word, and betake themselves to the devil, as they do that seek after holy water, crosses," etc.[4] (Wierus, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 3). What can these men plead for themselves more than those heathen gods, the same cures done by both, the same spirit that seduceth; but read more of the pagan gods' effects in Austin, *de Civitate Dei, lib.* 10, *cap.* 6, and of Æsculapius especially in Cicogna, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 8; or put case they could help, why should we rather seek to them, than to Christ himself, since that he so kindly invites us unto him, "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will ease you" (Matt. xi), and we know that there is one God, "one Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ (1 Tim. ii, 5), who gave himself a ransom for all men." We know that "we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ" [5] (1 John, ii, 1), that "there is no other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but by his," who is always ready to hear us, and sits at the right hand of God, and from whom we can have no repulse, *solus vult, solus potest, curat universos tanquam singulos,*[6] *et unumquemque nostrum ut solum;* [7] we are all as one to Him, He cares for us all as one, and why should we then seek to any other but to Him.

MEMB. IV.

SUBSECT. I.—*Physician, Patient, Physic*

OF those diverse gifts which our apostle Paul saith God hath bestowed on man, this of physic is not the least, but most necessary, and especially conducing to the good of mankind. Next therefore to God in all our extremities ("for of the most high cometh healing," Ecclus. xxxviii, 2) we must seek to, and rely upon the physician, who is *manus Dei* [the hand of God], saith Hierophilus, and to whom He hath given knowledge, that He might be glorified in His wondrous works.[1] "With such doth he heal men, and take away their pains" (Ecclus. xxxviii, 7); "When thou hast need of him, let him not go from thee" (verse 12); "The hour may come that their enterprises may have good success" (verse 13). It is not therefore to be doubted, that if we seek a physician as we ought, we may be eased of our infirmities, such a one I mean as is sufficient, and worthily so called; for there be many mountebanks, quacksalvers, empirics, in every street almost, and in every village, that take upon them this name, make this noble and profitable art to be evil spoken of and contemned, by reason of these base and illiterate artificers: but such a physician I speak of, as is approved, learned, skilful, honest, etc., of whose duty Wecker, *Antid. cap.* 2, *et Syntax. med.*, Crato, Julius Alexandrinus, *Medic.*, Heurnius, *Prax. med. lib.* 3, *cap.* 1, etc., treat at large. For this particular disease, him that shall take upon him to cure it, Paracelsus will have to be a magician, a chemist, a philosopher, an astrologer;[2] Thurnesserus, Severinus the Dane, and some other of his followers, require as much: "many of them cannot be cured but by magic." Paracelsus[3] is so stiff for those chemical medicines that in his cures he will admit almost of no other physic, deriding in the meantime Hippocrates, Galen, and all their followers: but magic, and all such remedies, I have already censured, and shall speak of chemistry elsewhere.[4] Astrology is required by many famous physicians, by Ficinus, Crato, Fernelius; doubted of, and exploded by others.[5] I will not take upon me to decide the controversy myself; Johannes Hossurtus, Thomas Boderius, and Maginus in the preface to his Mathematical Physic, shall determine for me. "Many physicians explode astrology in physic" (saith he), "there is no use of it, *unam artem ac quasi temerarium insectantur, ac gloriam sibi ab ejus imperitia aucupari* [they inveigh against it as mere

trickery, and take credit to themselves for being ignorant of it]: but I will reprove physicians by physicians, that defend and profess it, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, etc., that count them butchers without it," *homicidas medicos astrologiæ ignaros*, etc. Paracelsus goes farther, and will have his physician predestinated to this man's cure,[1] this malady, and time of cure, the scheme of each geniture inspected, gathering of herbs, of administering, astrologically observed; in which Thurnesserus and some iatromathematical professors are too superstitious in my judgment. "Hellebore will help, but not alway, not given by every physician," etc.,[2] but these men are too peremptory and self-conceited, as I think. But what do I do, interposing in that which is beyond my reach? A blind man cannot judge of colours, nor I peradventure of these things. Only thus much I would require, honesty in every physician, that he be not overcareless or covetous, harpy-like to make a prey of his patient; *carnificis namque est* (as Wecker notes[3]) *inter ipsos cruciatus ingens pretium exposcere* [to demand a large fee from a patient in the midst of his agony is more worthy of a butcher than a physician], as a hungry chirurgeon often produces and wire-draws his cure, so long as there is any hope of pay, *Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo* [like a leech that lets not go till it has sucked its fill]. Many of them, to get a fee, will give physic to every one that comes, when there is no cause, and they do so *irritare silentem morbum*, as Heurnius complains,[4] stir up a silent disease, as it often falleth out, which by good counsel, good advice alone, might have been happily composed, or by rectification of those six non-natural things otherwise cured. This is *naturæ bellum inferre*, to oppugn nature, and to make a strong body weak. Arnoldus in his eighth and eleventh Aphorisms gives cautions against, and expressly forbiddeth it. "A wise physician will not give physic, but upon necessity, and first try medicinal diet, before he proceed to medicinal cure."[5] In another place[6] he laughs those men to scorn, that think *longis syrupis expugnare dæmones et animi phantasmata*, they can purge fantastical imaginations and the devil by physic. Another caution is, that they proceed upon good grounds, if so be there be need of physic, and not mistake the disease; they are often deceived by the similitude of symptoms, saith Heurnius,[7] and I could give instance in many consultations, wherein they have prescribed opposite physic. Sometimes they go too perfunctorily to work, in not prescribing a just course of physic.[8] To stir up the humour, and not to purge it, doth often more harm

than good. Montanus, *consil.* 30, inveighs against such perturbations, "that purge to the halves, tire nature, and molest the body to no purpose." 'Tis a crabbed humour to purge, and, as Laurentius calls this disease, the reproach of physicians; Bessardus, *flagellum medicorum*, their lash; and for that cause more carefully to be respected. Though the patient be averse, saith Laurentius, desire help, and refuse it again, though he neglect his own health, it behoves a good physician not to leave him helpless. But most part they offend in that other extreme, they prescribe too much physic, and tire out their bodies with continual potions, to no purpose. Aetius, *Tetrabib.* 2, 2 *ser. cap.* 90, will have them by all means therefore "to give some respite to nature," [1] to leave off now and then; and Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, in his Consultations, found it (as he there witnesseth) often verified by experience, "that after a deal of physic to no purpose, left to themselves, they have recovered." [2] 'Tis that which Nic. Piso, Donatus Altomarus, still inculcate, *dare requiem naturæ*, to give nature rest.

SUBSECT. II.—*Concerning the Patient*

When these precedent cautions are accurately kept, and that we have now got a skilful, an honest physician to our mind, if his patient will not be conformable, and content to be ruled by him, all his endeavours will come to no good end. Many things are necessarily to be observed and continued on the patient's behalf. First that he be not too niggardly miserable of his purse, or think it too much he bestows upon himself, and to save charges endanger his health. The Abderites, when they sent for Hippocrates,[3] promised him what reward he would, "all the gold they had; if all the city were gold he should have it." [4] Naaman the Syrian, when he went into Israel to Elisha to be cured of his leprosy, took with him ten talents of silver, six thousand pieces of gold, and ten change of raiments (2 Kings v, 5). Another thing is, that out of bashfulness he do not conceal his grief; if aught trouble his mind, let him freely disclose it. *Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat* [the false shame of fools hides their festering wounds]. By that means he procures to himself much mischief, and runs into a greater inconvenience: he must be willing to be cured, and earnestly desire it. *Pars sanitatis velle sanari fuit* (Seneca). 'Tis a part of his cure to wish his own health; and not to defer it too long.

Qui blandiendo dulce nutrivit malum,
Sero recusat ferre quod subiit jugum.[1]

He that by cherishing a mischief doth provoke,
Too late at last refuseth to cast off his yoke.

Helleborum frustra cum jam cutis ægra tumebit,
Poscentes videas; venienti occurrite morbo.[2]

When the skin swells, to seek it to appease
With hellebore is vain; meet your disease.

By this means many times, or through their ignorance in not taking notice of their grievance and danger of it, contempt, supine negligence, extenuation, wretchedness, and peevishness; they undo themselves. The citizens, I know not of what city now, when rumour was brought their enemies were coming, could not abide to hear it; and when the plague begins in many places and they certainly know it, they command silence and hush it up; but after they see their foes now marching to their gates, and ready to surprise them, they begin to fortify and resist when 'tis too late; when the sickness breaks out and can be no longer concealed, then they lament their supine negligence: 'tis no otherwise with these men. And often out of prejudice, a loathing, and distaste of physic, they had rather die, or do worse, than take any of it. "Barbarous immanity" (Melancthon terms it[3]) "and folly to be deplored, so to contemn the precepts of health, good remedies, and voluntarily to pull death, and many maladies, upon their own heads." Though many again are in that other extreme too profuse, suspicious, and jealous of their health, too apt to take physic on every small occasion, to aggravate every slender passion, imperfection, impediment: if their finger do but ache, run, ride, send for a physician, as many gentlewomen do, that are sick, without a cause, even when they will themselves, upon every toy or small discontent, and when he comes, they make it worse than it is, by amplifying that which is not. Hier. Capivaccius[4] sets it down as a common fault of all "melancholy persons to say their symptoms are greater than they are, to help themselves"; and, which Mercurialis notes, *consil.* 53, "to be more troublesome to their physicians than other ordinary patients, that they may have change of physic."[5]

A third thing to be required in a patient is confidence, to be of good cheer, and have sure hope that his physician can help him. Damascen the Arabian requires likewise in the physician himself, that he be confident he can cure him, otherwise his

physic will not be effectual, and promise withal that he will certainly help him, make him believe so at least.[1] Galeottus gives this reason, because the form of health is contained in the physician's mind,[2] and, as Galen holds "confidence and hope do more good than physic," [3] he cures most in whom most are confident. Axiochus, sick almost to death, at the very sight of Socrates recovered his former health. Paracelsus assigns it for an only cause why Hippocrates was so fortunate in his cures, not for any extraordinary skill he had, but "because the common people had a most strong conceit of his worth." [4] To this of confidence we may add perseverance, obedience, and constancy, not to change his physician, or dislike him upon every toy; for he that so doth (saith Janus Damascen [5]) "or consults with many, falls into many errors; or that useth many medicines." It was a chief caveat of Seneca to his friend Lucilius, that he should not alter his physician, or prescribed physic: "Nothing hinders health more; a wound can never be cured, that hath several plasters." [6] Crato, *consil.* 186, taxeth all melancholy persons of this fault: "'Tis proper to them, if things fall not out to their mind, and that they have not present ease, to seek another and another" (as they do commonly that have sore eyes), "twenty one after another, and they still promise all to cure them, try a thousand remedies; and by this means they increase their malady, make it most dangerous and difficult to be cured." [7] "They try many" (saith Montanus [8]) "and profit by none": and for this cause, *consil.* 24, he enjoins his patient, before he take him in hand, "perseverance and sufferance, for in such a small time no great matter can be effected, and upon that condition he will administer physic, otherwise all his endeavour and counsel would be to small purpose." [9] And in his 31st counsel for a notable matron, he tells her, "if she will be cured, she must be of a most abiding patience, faithful obedience, and singular perseverance; if she remit, or despair, she can expect or hope for no good success."[10] *Consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot, he makes it one of the greatest reasons why this disease is so incurable, "because the parties are so restless, and impatient," [11] and will therefore have him that intends to be eased, "to take physic, not for a month, a year, but to apply himself to their prescriptions all the days of his life." [12] Last of all, it is required that the patient be not too bold to practise upon himself without an approved physician's consent, or to try conclusions if he read a receipt in a book; for so many grossly mistake, and do themselves more harm than good. That

which is conducing to one man, in one case, the same time is opposite to another. An ass and a mule went laden over a brook, the one with salt, the other with wool: the mule's pack was wet by chance, the salt melted, his burden the lighter, and he thereby much eased: he told the ass, who, thinking to speed as well, wet his pack likewise at the next water, but it was much the heavier, he quite tired.[1] So one thing may be good and bad to several parties, upon diverse occasions. "Many things" (saith Penottus[2]) "are written in our books, which seem to the reader to be excellent remedies, but they that make use of them are often deceived, and take for physic poison." I remember in Valleriola's Observations, a story of one John Baptist a Neapolitan, that finding by chance a pamphlet in Italian, written in praise of hellebore, would needs adventure on himself, and took one dram for one scruple, and had not he been sent for, the poor fellow had poisoned himself. From whence he concludes out of Damascenus, 2 *et* 3 *Aphoris.*, "that, without exquisite knowledge, to work out of books is most dangerous: how unsavoury a thing it is to believe writers, and take upon trust, as this patient perceived by his own peril."[3] I could recite such another example of mine own knowledge, of a friend of mine, that finding a receipt in Brassavola, would needs take hellebore in substance, and try it on his own person; but had not some of his familiars come to visit him by chance, he had by his indiscretion hazarded himself; many such I have observed. These are those ordinary cautions, which I should think fit to be noted, and he that shall keep them, as Montanus saith,[4] shall surely be much eased, if not thoroughly cured.

Subsect. III.—*Concerning Physic*

Physic itself in the last place is to be considered; "for the Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them" (Ecclus. xxxviii, 4), and "of such doth the apothecary make a confection," etc. (verse 8). Of these medicines there be divers and infinite kinds, plants, metals, animals, etc., and those of several natures: some good for one, hurtful to another, some noxious in themselves, corrected by art, very wholesome and good, simples, mixed, etc., and therefore left to be managed by discreet and skilful physicians, and thence applied to man's use. To this purpose they have invented method, and several rules of art, to put these remedies in order for their particular ends. Physic (as Hippocrates defines it) is naught

else but addition and subtraction;[1] and as it is required in all other diseases, so in this of melancholy it ought to be most accurate, it being (as Mercurialis acknowledgeth [2]) so common an affection in these our times, and therefore fit to be understood. Several prescripts and methods I find in several men, some take upon them to cure all maladies with one medicine, severally applied, as that panacea *aurum potabile* [liquid gold], so much controverted in these days, *herba solis*, etc. Paracelsus reduceth all diseases to four principal heads, to whom Severinus, Ravelascus, Leo Suavius, and others adhere and imitate: those are leprosy, gout, dropsy, falling sickness: to which they reduce the rest; as to leprosy, ulcers, itches, furfurs, scabs, etc.; to gout, stone, cholic, toothache, headache, etc.; to dropsy, agues, jaundice, cachexia, etc. To the falling sickness belong palsy, vertigo, cramps, convulsions, incubus, apoplexy, etc. "If any of these four principal be cured" (saith Ravelascus) "all the inferior are cured," [3] and the same remedies commonly serve: but this is too general, and by some contradicted: for this peculiar disease of melancholy, of which I am now to speak, I find several cures, several methods and prescripts. They that intend the practic cure of melancholy, saith Duretus in his notes to Hollerius, set down nine peculiar scopes or ends; Savonarola prescribed seven especial canons. Ælianus Montaltus, *cap.* 26, Faventinus in his Empirics, Hercules de Saxonia, etc., have their several injunctions and rules, all tending to one end. The ordinary is threefold, which I mean to follow: Διαιτητικὴ, *Pharmaceutica*, and *Chirurgica*, diet, or living, apothecary, chirurgery, which Wecker, Crato, Guianerius, etc., and most, prescribe; of which I will insist, and speak in their order.

SECT. II. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Diet rectified in substance*

DIET, διαιτητικὴ, *victus*, or living, according to Fuchsius [4] and others, comprehend those six non-natural things, which I have before specified, are especial causes, and, being rectified, a sole or chief part of the cure. Johannes Arculanus, *cap.* 16, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, accounts the rectifying of these six a sufficient cure.[5] Guianerius, *tract.* 15, *cap.* 9, calls them *propriam et*

primam curam, the principal cure; so doth Montanus, Crato, Mercurialis, Altomarus, etc., first to be tried; Lemnius, *Instit. cap.* 22, names them the hinges of our health, no hope of recovery without them.[1] Reinerus Solenander, in his seventh consultation for a Spanish young gentlewoman, that was so melancholy she abhorred all company and would not sit at table with her familiar friends, prescribes this physic above the rest, no good to be done without it.[2] Aretæus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 7, an old physician, is of opinion that this is enough of itself, if the party be not too far gone in sickness.[3] Crato, in a consultation of his for a noble patient,[4] tells him plainly, that if his highness will keep but a good diet, he will warrant him his former health. Montanus, *consil.* 27, for a nobleman of France, admonisheth his lordship to be most circumspect in his diet, or else all his other physic will be to small purpose.[5] The same injunction[6] I find verbatim in J. Cæsar Claudinus, *respon.* 34, *Scoltzii consil.* 183, Trallianus, *cap.* 16, *lib.* 1. Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus often brags that he hath done more cures in this kind by rectification of diet than all other physic besides. So that in a word I may say to most melancholy men, as the fox said to the weasel that could not get out of the garner, *Macra cavum repetes, quem macra subisti* [lean went you in the hole, lean you 'll get out], the six non-natural things caused it, and they must cure it. Which howsoever I treat of as proper to the meridian of melancholy, yet nevertheless, that which is here said, with him in Tully,[7] though writ especially for the good of his friends at Tarentum and Sicily, yet it will generally serve most other diseases,[8] and help them likewise, if it be observed.

Of these six non-natural things the first is diet, properly so called, which consists in meat and drink, in which we must consider substance, quantity, quality, and that opposite to the precedent. In substance, such meats are generally commended which are moist, easy of digestion, and not apt to engender wind, not fried, nor roasted,[9] but sod (saith Valescus, Altomarus, Piso, etc.), hot and moist, and of good nourishment; Crato, *consil.* 21, *lib.* 2, admits roast meat, if the burned and scorched superficies, the brown we call it, be pared off.[10] Salvianus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, cries out on cold and dry meats; young flesh and tender is approved,[11] as of kid, rabbits, chickens, veal, mutton, capons, hens, partridge, pheasant, quails, and all mountain birds, which are so familiar in some parts of Africa, and in Italy, and as Dublinius reports,[12] the common food of

boors and clowns in Palestine. Galen takes exception at mutton, but without question he means that rammy mutton which is in Turkey and Asia Minor, which have those great fleshy tails of forty-eight pound weight, as Vertomannus witnesseth, *Navig. lib.* 2, *cap.* 5. The lean of fat meat is best, and all manner of broths, and pottage, with borage, lettuce, and such wholesome herbs are excellent good, especially of a cock boiled, all spoon meat. Arabians commend brains, but Laurentius, *cap.* 8, excepts against them,[1] and so do many others. Eggs are justified as a nutritive wholesome meat,[2] butter and oil may pass, but with some limitation; so Crato confines it,[3] and "to some men sparingly at set times, or in sauce," and so sugar and honey are approved. All sharp and sour sauces must be avoided,[4] and spices, or at least seldom used: and so saffron sometimes in broth may be tolerated; but these things may be more freely used, as the temperature of the party is hot or cold, or as he shall find inconvenience by them. The thinnest, whitest, smallest wine is best, not thick, nor strong; and so of beer, the middling is fittest. Bread of good wheat, pure, well purged from the bran, is preferred; Laurentius, *cap.* 8, would have it kneaded with rain water if it may be gotten.

Pure, thin, light water by all means use, of good smell and taste, like to the air in sight, such as is soon hot, soon cold, and which Hippocrates so much approves, if at least it may be had. Rain water is purest, so that it fall not down in great drops, and be used forthwith, for it quickly putrefies. Next to it fountain water that riseth in the east, and runneth eastward, from a quick running spring, from flinty, chalky, gravelly grounds: and the longer a river runneth, it is commonly the purest, though many springs do yield the best water at their fountains. The waters in hotter countries, as in Turkey, Persia, India, within the tropics, are frequently purer than ours in the north, more subtile, thin, and lighter, as our merchants observe, by four ounces in a pound, pleasanter to drink, as good as our beer, and some of them, as Choaspes in Persia, preferred by the Persian kings before wine itself.

> *Clitorio quicunque sitim de fonte levarit*
> *Vina fugit gaudetque meris abstemius undis.*[5]
>
> [Who once hath tasted the Clitorian rill.
> Spurns wine, and of pure water drinks his fill.]

Many rivers, I deny not, are muddy still, white, thick, like those in China, Nile in Egypt, Tiber at Rome, but after they be

settled two or three days, defecate and clear, very commodious, useful and good. Many make use of deep wells, as of old in the Holy Land, lakes, cisterns, when they cannot be better provided; to fetch it in carts, or gondolas, as in Venice, or camels' backs, as at Cairo in Egypt, Radzivilius [1] observed 8,000 camels daily there, employed about that business; some keep it in tanks, as in the East Indies, made four-square with descending steps, and 'tis not amiss: for I would not have any one so nice as that Grecian Calis, sister to Nicephorus, Emperor of Constantinople, and married to Dominicus Silvius,[2] Duke of Venice, that, out of incredible wantonness, *communi aqua uti nolebat*, would use no vulgar water; but she died *tanta* (saith mine author) *fœtidissimi puris copia*, of so fulsome a disease, that no water could wash her clean. Plato [3] would not have a traveller lodge in a city that is not governed by laws, or hath not a quick stream running by it; *illud enim animum, hoc corrumpit valetudinem*, one corrupts the body, the other the mind. But this is more than needs, too much curiosity is naught, in time of necessity any water is allowed. Howsoever, pure water is best, and which (as Pindarus holds) is better than gold; an especial ornament it is, and "very commodious to a city" (according to Vegetius [4]) "when fresh springs are included within the walls," as at Corinth, in the midst of the town almost, there was *arx altissima scatens fontibus*, a goodly mount full of fresh-water springs: "if nature afford them not they must be had by art." It is a wonder to read of those stupend aqueducts,[5] and infinite cost hath been bestowed in Rome of old, Constantinople, Carthage, Alexandria, and such populous cities, to convey good and wholesome waters: read Frontinus,[6] Lipsius *de admir.*, Plinius,[7] *lib.* 3, *cap.* 11, Strabo in his Geography. That aqueduct of Claudius was most eminent, fetched upon arches fifteen miles, every arch 109 feet high: they had fourteen such other aqueducts, besides lakes and cisterns, 700 as I take it; every house had private pipes and channels to serve them for their use.[8] Peter Gillius, in his accurate description of Constantinople, speaks of an old cistern which he went down to see, 336 foot long, 180 foot broad, built of marble, covered over with arch-work and sustained by 336 pillars, 12 foot asunder, and in eleven rows, to contain sweet water. Infinite cost in channels and cisterns, from Nilus to Alexandria, hath been formerly bestowed, to the admiration of these times; their cisterns so curiously cemented and composed that a beholder would take them to be all of one stone: when the foundation is laid, and cistern made, their house is half

built.[1] That Segovian aqueduct in Spain is much wondered at in these days, upon three rows of pillars, one above another, conveying sweet water to every house:[2] but each city almost is full of such aqueducts. Amongst the rest he[3] is eternally to be commended that brought that new stream to the north side of London at his own charge; and Mr. Otho Nicholson, founder of our water-works and elegant conduit in Oxford. So much have all times attributed to this element, to be conveniently provided of it: although Galen hath taken exceptions at such waters which run through leaden pipes, *ob cerussam quæ in iis generatur*, for that unctuous ceruse, which causeth dysenteries and fluxes; yet, as Alsarius Crucius of Genoa well answers,[4] it is opposite to common experience. If that were true, most of our Italian cities, Montpelier in France, with infinite others, would find this inconvenience, but there is no such matter. For private families, in what sort they should furnish themselves, let them consult with P. Crescentius, *de Agric. lib.* 1, *cap.* 4, Pamphilus Hirelacus, and the rest.

Amongst fishes, those are most allowed of, that live in gravelly or sandy waters, pikes, perch, trout, gudgeon, smelts, flounders, etc. Hippolytus Salvianus takes exception at carp; but I dare boldy say with Dubravius,[5] it is an excellent meat, if it come not from muddy pools, that it retain not an unsavoury taste.[6] *Erinaceus marinus* [the sea-urchin] is much commended by Oribasius, Aetius, and most of our late writers.

Crato, *consil.* 21, *lib.* 2, censures all manner of fruits as subject to putrefaction, yet tolerable at some times; after meals, at second course, they keep down vapours, and have their use.[7] Sweet fruits are best, as sweet cherries, plums, sweet apples, pearmains, and pippins, which Laurentius extols as having a peculiar property against this disease, and Plater magnifies, *Omnibus modis appropriata conveniunt* [they are good in whatever way served], but they must be corrected for their windiness; ripe grapes are good, and raisins of the sun, musk-melons well corrected and sparingly used. Figs are allowed, and almonds blanched. Trallianus discommends figs, Salvianus[8] olives and capers, which others[9] especially like of, and so of pistick nuts. Montanus and Mercurialis, out of Avenzoar, admit peaches, pears, and apples baked, after meals, only corrected with sugar and aniseed or fennel-seed, and so they may be profitably taken, because they strengthen the stomach, and keep down vapours.[10] The like may be said of preserved cherries, plums, marmalade of plums, quinces, etc., but not to drink

after them. Pomegranates,[1] lemons, oranges are tolerated, if they be not too sharp.

Crato will admit of no herbs, but borage, bugloss, endive, fennel, aniseed, balm;[2] Calenus and Arnoldus tolerate lettuce, spinach, beets, etc. The same Crato will allow no roots at all to be eaten. Some approve of potatoes, parsnips, but all corrected for wind. No raw sallets; but, as Laurentius prescribes, in broths; and so Crato commends many of them: or to use borage, hops, balm, steeped in their ordinary drink. Avenzoar[3] magnifies the juice of a pomegranate, if it be sweet, and especially rose-water, which he would have to be used in every dish, which they put in practice in those hot countries about Damascus, where (if we may believe the relations of Vertomannus) many hogsheads of rose-water are to be sold in the market at once, it is in so great request with them.

Subsect. II.—*Diet rectified in Quantity*

Man alone, saith Cardan,[4] eats and drinks without appetite, and useth all his pleasure without necessity, *animæ vitio* [through the corruption of his soul], and thence come many inconveniences unto him. For there is no meat whatsoever, though otherwise wholesome and good, but if unseasonably taken, or immoderately used, more than the stomach can well bear, it will engender crudity and do much harm. Therefore Crato[5] adviseth his patient to eat but twice a day, and that at his set meals, by no means to eat without an appetite or upon a full stomach, and to put seven hours' difference between dinner and supper. Which rule if we did observe in our colleges, it would be much better for our healths: but custom, that tyrant, so prevails that, contrary to all good order and rules of physic, we scarce admit of five. If after seven hours' tarrying he shall have no stomach, let him defer his meal, or eat very little at his ordinary time of repast. This very counsel was given by Prosper Calenus to Cardinal Cæsius, labouring of this disease; and Platerus[6] prescribes it to a patient of his, to be most severely kept. Guianerius admits of three meals a day, but Montanus, *consil* 23, *pro Ab. Italo*, ties him precisely to two. And as he must not eat overmuch, so he may not absolutely fast; for as Celsus contends, *lib.* 1, Jacchinus, 15, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, repletion and inanition may both do harm in two contrary extremes.[7] Moreover, that which he doth eat, must be well

chewed, and not hastily gobbled, for that causeth crudity and wind;[1] and by all means to eat no more than he can well digest. "Some think (saith Trincavellius, *lib.* 11, *cap.* 29, *de curand. part. hum.*) "the more they eat the more they nourish themselves": eat and live, as the proverb is; "not knowing that only repairs man which is well concocted, not that which is devoured."[2] Melancholy men most part have good appetites, but ill digestion,[3] and for that cause they must be sure to rise with an appetite: and, that which Socrates and Disarius the physicians in Macrobius[4] so much require, St. Hierome enjoins Rusticus to eat and drink no more than will satisfy hunger and thirst.[5] Lessius the Jesuit[6] holds twelve, thirteen, or fourteen ounces, or in our northern countries sixteen at most (for all students, weaklings, and such as lead an idle sedentary life), of meat, bread, etc., a fit proportion for a whole day, and as much or little more of drink. Nothing pesters the body and mind sooner than to be still fed, to eat and ingurgitate beyond all measure, as many do. "By overmuch eating and continual feasts they stifle nature, and choke up themselves; which, had they lived coarsely, or like galley-slaves been tied to an oar, might have happily prolonged many fair years."[7]

A great inconvenience comes by variety of dishes, which causeth the precedent distemperature, "than which" (saith Avicenna) "nothing is worse; to feed on diversity of meats, or overmuch,"[8] Sertorius-like, *in lucem cœnare* [to prolong supper till daylight], and, as commonly they do in Muscovy and Iceland, to prolong their meals all day long, or all night. Our northern countries offend especially in this, and we in this island (*ampliter viventes in prandiis et cœnis* [keeping a most liberal table], as Polydore notes[9]) are most liberal feeders, but to our own hurt. *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus*[10] [no Eastern luxury for me]. "Excess of meat breedeth sickness, and gluttony causeth choleric diseases: by surfeiting many perish, but he that dieteth himself prolongeth his life" (Ecclus. xxxvii, 29, 30). We account it a great glory for a man to have his table daily furnished with variety of meats; but hear the physician, he pulls thee by the ear as thou sittest, and telleth thee that nothing can be more noxious to thy health than such variety and plenty.[11] Temperance is a bridle of gold, and he that can use it aright, *ego non summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico,*[12] is liker a god than a man: for as it will transform a beast to a man again, so will it make a man a god. To preserve thine honour, health, and to avoid therefore all those

inflations, torments, obstructions, crudities, and diseases that come by a full diet, the best way is to feed sparingly of one or two dishes at most,[1] to have *ventrem bene moratum* [a stomach in good order], as Seneca calls it, "to choose one of many, and to feed on that alone," [2] as Crato adviseth his patient. The same counsel Prosper Calenus gives to Cardinal Cæsius,[3] to use a moderate and simple diet: and though his table be jovially furnished by reason of his state and guests, yet for his own part to single out some one savoury dish and feed on it. The same is inculcated by Crato, *consil.* 9. *lib.* 2, to a noble personage affected with this grievance; he would have his highness to dine or sup alone, without all his honourable attendance and courtly company, with a private friend or so, a dish or two, a cup of Rhenish wine, etc.[4] Montanus, *consil.* 24, for a noble matron, enjoins her one dish,[5] and by no means to drink between meals. The like, *consil.* 229, or not to eat till he be an-hungry, which rule Berengarius did most strictly observe, as Hilbertus, *Cenomanensis Episcopus* [Bishop of Le Mans], writes in his life:

cui non fuit unquam
Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem;
[Who never drank before he was thirsty nor ate before he was hungry;]

and which all temperate men do constantly keep. It is a frequent solemnity still used with us, when friends meet, to go to the alehouse or tavern, they are not sociable otherwise: and if they visit one another's houses, they must both eat and drink. I reprehend it not moderately used; but to some men nothing can be more offensive; they had better, I speak it with Saint Ambrose,[6] pour so much water in their shoes.

It much avails likewise to keep order in our diet, "to eat liquid things first, broths, fish, and such meats as are sooner corrupted in the stomach; harder meats of digestion must come last." [7] Crato would have the supper less than the dinner,[8] which Cardan, *Contradict. lib.* 1, *tract.* 5, *contradict.* 18, disallows, and that by the authority of Galen, 7 *Art. curat. cap.* 6, and for four reasons he will have the supper biggest. I have read many treatises to this purpose, I know not how it may concern some few sick men, but for my part, generally for all, I should subscribe to that custom of the Romans, to make a sparing dinner, and a liberal supper; all their preparation and invitation was still at supper, no mention of dinner. Many reasons I could give, but when all is said pro and con, Cardan's

rule[1] is best, to keep that we are accustomed unto, though it be naught; and to follow our disposition and appetite in some things is not amiss; to eat sometimes of a dish which is hurtful, if we have an extraordinary liking to it. Alexander Severus loved hares and apples above all other meats, as Lampridius relates in his life:[2] one pope pork, another peacock, etc.; what harm came of it? I conclude, our own experience is the best physician; that diet which is most propitious to one is often pernicious to another; such is the variety of palates, humours, and temperatures, let every man observe, and be a law unto himself. Tiberius, in Tacitus,[3] did laugh at all such, that after thirty years of age would ask counsel of others concerning matters of diet; I say the same.

These few rules of diet he that keeps shall surely find great ease and speedy remedy by it. It is a wonder to relate that prodigious temperance of some hermits, anchorites, and Fathers of the Church: he that shall but read their lives, written by Hierome, Athanasius, etc., how abstemious heathens have been in this kind, those Curii and Fabricii, those old philosophers (as Pliny records, *lib.* 11, Xenophon, *lib.* 1 *de vit. Socrat.*), emperors and kings (as Nicephorus relates, *Eccles Hist. lib.* 18, *cap.* 8, of Mauricius, Ludovicus Pius, etc.), and that admirable example of Ludovicus Cornarus,[4] a patrician of Venice, cannot but admire them. This have they done voluntarily and in health; what shall these private men do that are visited with sickness, and necessarily enjoined to recover, and continue their health?[5] It is a hard thing to observe a strict diet, *et qui medice vivit, misere vivit* [he who lives by the doctor's orders lives wretchedly], as the saying is, *Quale hoc ipsum erit vivere, his si privatus fueris?* as good be buried, as so much debarred of his appetite; *excessit medicina malum,* the physic is more troublesome than the disease, so he complained in the poet, so thou thinkest: yet he that loves himself will easily endure this little misery to avoid a greater inconvenience; *e malis minimum* [of evils choose the least], better do this than do worse. And, as Tully holds,[6] "better be a temperate old man than a lascivious youth." 'Tis the only sweet thing (which he adviseth), so to moderate ourselves, that we may have *senectutem in juventute, et in juventute senectutem,* be youthful in our old age, staid in our youth, discreet and temperate in both.

MEMB. II.

Retention and Evacuation rectified

I have declared in the causes what harm costiveness hath done in procuring this disease; if it be so noxious, the opposite must needs be good, or mean at least, as indeed it is, and to this cure necessarily required; *maxime conducit*, saith Montaltus, *cap.* 27, it very much avails. Altomarus, *cap.* 7, commends walking in a morning into some fair green pleasant fields, but by all means first, by art or nature, he will have these ordinary excrements evacuated.[1] Piso calls it *beneficium ventris*, the benefit, help, or pleasure of the belly, for it doth much ease it. Laurentius, *cap.* 8, Crato, *consil.* 21, *lib.* 2, prescribes it once a day at least: where nature is defective, art must supply, by those lenitive electuaries, suppositories, condite prunes, turpentine, clysters, as shall be shown. Prosper Calenus, *lib. de atra bile*, commends clysters in hypochondriacal melancholy, still to be used as occasion serves; Peter Cnemander, in a consultation of his *pro hypocondriaco*,[2] will have his patient continually loose, and to that end sets down there many forms of potions and clysters. Mercurialis, *consil.* 88, if this benefit come not of its own accord, prescribes clysters in the first place:[3] so doth Montanus, *consil.* 24; *consil.* 31 *et* 229, he commends turpentine to that purpose: the same he ingeminates, *consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot. 'Tis very good to wash his hands and face often, to shift his clothes, to have fair linen about him, to be decently and comely attired, for *sordes vitiant*, nastiness defiles and dejects any man that is so voluntarily, or compelled by want, it dulleth the spirits.

Baths are either artificial or natural, both have their special uses in this malady, and as Alexander supposeth, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 16, yield as speedy a remedy as any other physic whatsoever.[4] Aetius would have them daily used, *assidua balnea*, *Tetra.* 2, *sect.* 2, *cap.* 9. Galen cracks how many several cures he hath performed in this kind by use of baths alone, and Ruffus pills, moistening them which are otherwise dry. Rhasis makes it a principal cure, *tota cura sit in humectando*, to bathe and afterwards anoint with oil. Jason Pratensis, Laurentius, *cap.* 8, and Montanus set down their peculiar forms of artificial baths. Crato, *consil.* 17, *lib.* 2, commends mallows, camomile, violets, borage to be boiled in it, and sometimes fair water alone, as in his following counsel, *Balneum aquæ dulcis solum sæpissime*

profuisse compertum habemus [we have very frequently found a bath of sweet water to be beneficial]. So doth Fuchsius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 33, Frisimelica, 2, *consil.* 42, in Trincavellius. Some beside herbs prescribe a ram's head and other things to be boiled. Fernelius, *consil.* 44, will have them used ten or twelve days together; to which he must enter fasting, and so continue in a temperate heat, and after that frictions all over the body.[1] Lælius Eugubinus, *consil.* 142, and Christoph. Ayrerus, in a consultation of his, hold once or twice a week sufficient to bathe, the "water to be warm, not hot, for fear of sweating."[2] Felix Plater, *Observ. lib.* 1, for a melancholy lawyer, will have lotions of the head still joined to these baths, with a lee wherein capital herbs have been boiled.[3] Laurentius speaks of baths of milk,[4] which I find approved by many others. And still, after bath, the body to be anointed with oil of bitter almonds, of violets, new or fresh butter, capon's grease,[5] especially the backbone, and then lotions of the head, embrocations, etc. These kinds of baths have been in former times much frequented, and diversely varied, and are still in general use in those eastern countries. The Romans had their public baths very sumptuous and stupend, as those of Antoninus and Dioclesian. Pliny, *lib.* 36, saith there were an infinite number of them in Rome, and mightily frequented: some bathed seven times a day, as Commodus the emperor is reported to have done: usually twice a day, and they were after anointed with most costly ointments: rich women bathed themselves in milk, some in the milk of five hundred she-asses at once. We have many ruins of such baths found in this island, amongst those parietines and rubbish of old Roman towns. Lipsius, *de mag. urb. Rom.* *lib.* 3, *cap.* 8, Rosinus, Scot of Antwerp, and other antiquaries, tell strange stories of their baths. Gillius, *lib.* 4, *cap ult.* *Topogr. Constant.*, reckons up 155 public baths[6] in Constantinople, of fair building; they are still frequented in that city by the Turks of all sorts, men and women,[7] and all over Greece and those hot countries; to absterge belike that fulsomeness of sweat to which they are there subject. Busbequius, in his Epistles,[8] is very copious in describing the manner of them, how their women go covered, a maid following with a box of ointment to rub them. The richer sort have private baths in their houses; the poorer go to the common, and are generally so curious in this behalf, that they will not eat nor drink until they have bathed, before and after meals some, "and will not make water but they will wash their hands, or go to stool."[9]

Leo Afer, *lib.* 3, makes mention of an hundred several baths at Fez in Africa, most sumptuous, and such as have great revenues belonging to them. Buxtorf., *cap.* 14 *Synagog. Jud.*, speaks of many ceremonies amongst the Jews in this kind; they are very superstitious in their baths, especially women.

Natural baths are praised by some, discommended by others; but it is in a diverse respect. Marcus de Oddis, *in Hyp. affect.*, consulted about baths, condemns them for the heat of the liver, because they dry too fast;[1] and yet by and by, in another counsel for the same disease,[2] he approves them because they cleanse by reason of the sulphur, and would have their water to be drunk. Aretæus, *cap.* 7, commends alum baths above the rest; and Mercurialis, *consil.* 88, those of Lucca in that hypochondriacal passion. "He would have his patient tarry there fifteen days together, and drink the water of them, and to be bucketed, or have the water poured on his head."[3] John Baptista Sylvaticus, *cont.* 64, commends all the baths in Italy, and drinking of their water, whether they be iron, alum, sulphur; so doth Hercules de Saxonia.[4] But, in that they cause sweat, and dry so much, he confines himself to hypochondriacal melancholy alone, excepting that of the head and the other. Trincavellius, *consil.* 14, *lib.* 1, prefers those Porrectan baths[5] before the rest, because of the mixture of brass, iron, alum; and, *consil.* 35, *lib.* 3, for a melancholy lawyer; and, *consil.* 36, in that hypochondriacal passion, the baths of Aquaria;[6] and, *consil.* 36, the drinking of them. Frisimelica, consulted amongst the rest in Trincavellius, *consil.* 42, *lib.* 2, prefers the waters of Apona before all artificial baths whatsoever in this disease, and would have one nine years affected with hypochondriacal passions fly to them as to a holy anchor.[7] [8] Of the same mind is Trincavellius himself there, and yet both put a hot liver in the same party for a cause, and send him to the waters of St. Helen, which are much hotter. Montanus, *consil.* 230, magnifies the Chalderinian baths,[9] and, *consil.* 237 *et* 239, he exhorteth to the same, but with this caution, "that the liver be outwardly anointed with some coolers that it be not overheated."[10] But these baths must be warily frequented by melancholy persons, or if used, to such as are very cold of themselves, for as Gabelius concludes of all Dutch baths, and especially of those of Baden, "they are good for all cold diseases, naught for, choleric, hot and dry, and all infirmities proceeding of choler, inflammations of the spleen and liver."[11] Our English baths, as they are hot, must needs incur the same censure: but Dr. Turner of old, and

Dr. Jones, have written at large of them. Of cold baths I find little or no mention in any physician; some speak against them. Cardan alone, out of Agathinus, commends "bathing in fresh rivers, and cold waters, and adviseth all such as mean to live long to use it, for it agrees with all ages and complexions, and is most profitable for hot temperatures." [1] As for sweating, urine, blood-letting by hemrods, or otherwise, I shall elsewhere more opportunely speak of them.

Immoderate Venus in excess, as it is a cause, or in defect; so, moderately used, to some parties an only help, a present remedy. Peter Forestus calls it *aptissimum remedium*, a most apposite remedy, "remitting anger, and reason, that was otherwise bound." [2] Avicenna, *fen.* 3, 20, Oribasius, *Med. collect. lib.* 6, *cap.* 37, contend out of Ruffus and others, "that many madmen, melancholy, and labouring of the falling sickness, have been cured by this alone.[3] Montaltus, *cap.* 27 *de melan.*, will have it drive away sorrow, and all illusions of the brain, to purge the heart and brain from ill smokes and vapours that offend them: "and if it be omitted," as Valescus supposeth, "it makes the mind sad, the body dull and heavy." [4] Many other inconveniences are reckoned up by Mercatus, and by Rodericus à Castro, in their tracts *de melancholia virginum et monialium; ob seminis retentionem sæviunt sæpe moniales et virgines*, but, as Platerus adds, *si nubant sanantur*, they rave single, and pine away, much discontent, but marriage mends all. Marcellus Donatus, *lib.* 2 *Med. hist. cap.* 1, tells a story to confirm this out of Alexander Benedictus, of a maid that was mad, *ob menses inhibitos; cum in officinam meritoriam incidisset, a quindecem viris eadem nocte compressa, mensium largo profluvio, quod pluribus annis ante constiterat, non sine magno pudore menti restituta discessit.* But this must be warily understood, for, as Arnoldus objects, *lib.* 1 *Breviar. cap.* 18, *Quid coitus ad melancholicum succum?* What affinity have these two? "except it be manifest that superabundance of seed or fullness of blood be a cause, or that love, or an extraordinary desire of Venus, have gone before," [5] or that, as Lod. Mercatus excepts, they be very flatuous, and have been otherwise accustomed unto it. Montaltus, *cap.* 27, will not allow of moderate Venus to such as have the gout, palsy, epilepsy, melancholy, except they be very lusty, and full of blood. Ludovicus Antonius, *lib. med. miscel.*, in his chapter of Venus, forbids it utterly to all wrestlers, ditchers, labouring men, etc.[6] Ficinus and [7] Marsilius Cognatus [8] put Venus one of the five mortal enemies of a student: "It

consumes the spirits, and weakeneth the brain." Halyabbas the Arabian, 5 *Theor. cap.* 36, and Jason Pratensis make it the fountain of most diseases, "but most pernicious to them who are cold and dry";[1] a melancholy man must not meddle with it but in some cases. Plutarch in his book *de san. tuend.* accounts of it as one of the three principal signs and preservers of health, temperance in this kind: "to rise with an appetite, to be ready to work, and abstain from venery,"[2] *tria saluberrima,* are three most healthful things. We see their opposites how pernicious they are to mankind, as to all other creatures they bring death, and many feral diseases: *Immodocis brevis est ætas et rara senectus* [fast livers are mostly short-lived, and rarely reach old age]. Aristotle gives instance in sparrows, which are *parum vivaces ob salacitatem,* short-lived because of their salacity,[3] which is very frequent, as Scioppius *in Priapeiis* will better inform you. The extremes being both bad, the medium is to be kept, which cannot easily be determined.[4] Some are better able to sustain, such as are hot and moist, phlegmatic, as Hippocrates insinuateth, some strong and lusty, well fed like Hercules,[5] Proculus the emperor,[6] lusty Laurence, *prostibulum feminæ* [that whore of a woman], Messalina the empress,[7] that by philters, and such kind of lascivious meats, use all means to enable themselves,[8] and brag of it in the end, *Confodi multas enim, occidi vero paucas per ventrem vidisti,* as that Spanish Celestina merrily said:[9] others impotent, of a cold and dry constitution, cannot sustain those gymnics without great hurt done to their own bodies, of which number (though they be very prone to it) are melancholy men for the most part.

MEMB. III.

Air rectified. With a digression of the Air

As a long-winged hawk, when he is first whistled off the fist, mounts aloft, and for his pleasure fetcheth many a circuit in the air, still soaring higher and higher till he be come to his full pitch, and in the end when the game is sprung, comes down amain, and stoops upon a sudden: so will I, having now come at last into these ample fields of air, wherein I may freely expatiate and exercise myself for my recreation, awhile rove, wander round about the world, mount aloft to those ethereal

orbs and celestial spheres, and so descend to my former elements again. In which progress I will first see whether that relation of the friar of Oxford [1] be true, concerning those northern parts under the Pole (if I meet *obiter* [on the way] with the Wandering Jew, Elias Artifex, or Lucian's Icaromenippus, they shall be my guides) whether there be such four euripes, and a great rock of loadstones, which may cause the needle in the compass still to bend that way, and what should be the true cause of the variation of the compass; is it a magnetical rock,[2] or the pole-star, as Cardan will; or some other star in the Bear, as Marsilius Ficinus; or a magnetical meridian, as Maurolicus; *vel situs in vena terræ* [or a position in the interior of the earth], as Agricola; or the nearness of the next continent, as Cabeus will; or some other cause, as Scaliger, Cortesius, *Conimbricenses* [the philosophers of Coimbra], Peregrinus contend? why at the Azores it looks directly north, otherwise not. In the Mediterranean or Levant (as some observe) it varies 7 *grad.*, by and by 12, and then 22. In the Baltic Seas, near Rasceburg in Finland, the needle runs round if any ships come that way, though Martin Ridley write otherwise,[3] that the needle near the Pole will hardly be forced from his direction. 'Tis fit to be inquired whether certain rules may be made of it, as 11 *grad. Lond. variat. alibi* 36, etc., and, that which is more prodigious, the variation varies in the same place; now taken accurately, 'tis so much after a few years quite altered from that it was: till we have better intelligence, let our Dr. Gilbert, and Nicholas Cabeus the Jesuit,[4] that have both written great volumes of this subject, satisfy these inquisitors. Whether the sea be open and navigable by the Pole Arctic, and which is the likeliest way, that of Bartison the Hollander, under the Pole itself, which for some reasons I hold best: or by *Fretum Davis* [Davis Strait], or Nova Zembla. Whether Hudson's discovery [5] be true of a new-found ocean, any likelihood of Button's Bay in 50 degrees, Hubberd's Hope in 60, that of *ut ultra* near Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome in North-west Fox, being that the sea ebbs and flows constantly there 15 foot in 12 hours, as our new cards [6] inform us that California is not a cape, but an island, and the west winds make the neap tides equal to the spring, or that there be any probability to pass by the Straits of Anian to China, by the promontory of Tabin. If there be, I shall soon perceive whether Marcus Polus the Venetian's narration [7] be true or false, of that great city of Quinsay and Cambalu; whether there be any such places, or that, as Matth. Riccius the Jesuit hath

written,[1] China and Cataia be all one, the great Cham of Tartary and the King of China be the same, Xuntain and Quinsay, and the city of Cambalu be that new Peking, or such a wall 400 leagues long to part China from Tartary: whether Presbyter John be in Asia or Africa;[2] M. Polus Venetus puts him in Asia; the most received opinion[3] is, that he is emperor of the Abyssines, which of old was Ethiopia, now Nubia, under the Equator in Africa. Whether Guinea[4] be an island or part of the continent, or that hungry Spaniard's[5] discovery of *Terra Australis Incognita*, [the Unknown Land in the South] or *Magellanica*, be as true as that of Mercurius Britannicus, or his of Utopia, or his of Lucinia. And yet in likelihood it may be so, for without all question it being extended from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Circle Antarctic, and lying as it doth in the temperate zone, cannot choose but yield in time some flourishing kingdoms to succeeding ages, as America did unto the Spaniards. Schouten and Le Meir have done well in the discovery of the Straits of Magellan, in finding a more convenient passage to *Mare Pacificum* [the Pacific Ocean]: methinks some of our modern Argonauts should prosecute the rest. As I go by Madagascar, I would see that great bird ruck,[6] that can carry a man and horse or an elephant, with that Arabian phœnix described by Adricomius;[7] see the pelicans of Egypt, those Scythian gryphes in Asia; and afterwards in Africa examine the fountains of Nilus, whether Herodotus, Seneca,[8] Pliny, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 9. Strabo, *lib.* 5, give a true cause of his annual flowing, Pagaphetta[9] discourse rightly of it, or of Niger and Senegal; examine Cardan, Scaliger's reasons,[10] and the rest. Is it from those etesian winds, or melting of snow in the mountains under the Equator (for Jordan yearly overflows when the snow melts in Mount Libanus), or from those great dropping perpetual showers, which are so frequent to the inhabitants within the tropics, when the sun is vertical, and cause such vast inundations in Senegal, Maragnan, Orinoco and the rest of those great rivers in *Zona Torrida*, which have all commonly the same passions at set times: and by good husbandry and policy hereafter no doubt may come to be as populous, as well tilled, as fruitful, as Egypt itself or Cochin-China? I would observe all those motions of the sea, and from what cause they proceed, from the moon (as the vulgar hold) or earth's motion, which Galileus, in the fourth dialogue of his System of the World, so eagerly proves and firmly demonstrates; or winds, as some will.[11] Why in that quiet Ocean of Zur, *in Mari Pacifico* [in

the Pacific Ocean], it is scarce perceived, in our British seas most violent, in the Mediterranean and Red Sea so vehement, irregular, and diverse? Why the current in that Atlantic Ocean should still be in some places from, in some again towards the north, and why they come sooner than go? and so from Moabar to Madagascar in that Indian Ocean, the merchants come in three weeks, as Scaliger discusseth,[1] they return scarce in three months, with the same or like winds: the continual current is from east to west. Whether Mount Athos, Pelion, Olympus, Ossa, Caucasus, Atlas, be so high as Pliny, Solinus, Mela relate, above clouds, meteors. *ubi nec auræ nec venti spirant* [where there are no winds or breezes] (insomuch that they that ascend die suddenly very often, the air is so subtile), 1,250 paces high, according to that measure of Dicæarchus, or 78 miles perpendicularly high, as Jacobus Mazonius, *sec.* 3 *et* 4, expounding that place of Aristotle about Caucasus,[2] and as Blancanus the Jesuit [3] contends out of Clavius' and Nonius' demonstrations *de crepusculis* [on twilights]; or rather 32 stadiums, as the most received opinion is; or 4 miles, which the height of no mountain doth perpendicularly exceed, and is equal to the greatest depths of the sea, which is, as Scaliger holds, 1,580 paces (*Exer.* 38), others 100 paces. I would see those inner parts of America, whether there be any such great city of Manoa or Eldorado in that golden empire, where the highways are as much beaten (one reports) as between Madrid and Valladolid in Spain; or any such Amazons as he relates, or gigantic Patagones in Chica; with that miraculous mountain Ybouyapab in the Northern Brazil, *cujus jugum sternitur in amœnissimam planitiem* [4] [the top of which spreads out into a most pleasant tableland], etc. or that of Pariacacca, so high elevated in Peru. The pike of Teneriffe [5] how high it is? 70 miles? or 50, as Patricius holds? or 9, as Snellius demonstrates in his *Eratosthenes*? See that strange Cirknickzerksey lake in Carniola, whose waters gush so fast out of the ground that they will overtake a swift horseman, and by and by with as incredible celerity are supped up: [6] which Lazius and Wernerus make an argument of the Argonauts sailing under ground. And that vast den or hole called Esmellen in Muscovia, *quæ visitur horrendo hiatu,* [which presents a frightful chasm], etc. which if anything casually fall in, makes such a roaring noise, that no thunder or ordnance or warlike engine can make the like; [7] such another is Gilber's Cave in Lapland, with many the like. I would examine the Caspian Sea, and see where and how it exonerates itself, after it hath taken in

Volga, Iaxartes, Oxus, and those great rivers; at the mouth of Obi, or where? What vent the Mexican lake hath, the Titicacan in Peru, or that circular pool in the vale of Terapeia, of which Acosta, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 16, hot in a cold country, the spring of which boils up in the middle twenty foot square, and hath no vent but exhalation: and that of *Mare mortuum* [the Dead Sea] in Palestine, of Thrasymene, at Perusium in Italy: the Mediterranean itself. For from the ocean, at the Straits of Gibraltar, there is a perpetual current into the Levant, and so likewise by the Thracian Bosphorus out of the Euxine or Black Sea, besides all those great rivers of Nile, Padus, Rhodanus, etc., how is this water consumed? by the sun or otherwise? I would find out with Trajan the fountains of Danubius, of Ganges, Oxus, see those Egyptian pyramids, Trajan's bridge, *Grotta de Sibylla*, Lucullus' fish-ponds, the temple of Nidrose, etc., and, if I could, observe what becomes of swallows, storks, cranes, cuckoos, nightingales, redstarts, and many other kind of singing-birds, water-fowls, hawks, etc.; some of them are only seen in summer, some in winter; some are observed in the snow and at no other times,[1] each have their seasons. In winter not a bird is in Muscovy to be found, but at the spring in an instant the woods and hedges are full of them, saith Herbastein:[2] how comes it to pass? Do they sleep in winter, like Gesner's Alpine mice; or do they lie hid (as Olaus affirms[3]) "in the bottom of lakes and rivers, *spiritum continentes* [keeping in their breath]? often so found by fishermen in Poland and Scandia, two together, mouth to mouth, wing to wing; and when the spring comes they revive again, or if they be brought into a stove, or to the fire-side." Or do they follow the sun, as Peter Martyr, *Legat. Babylonica*, *lib.* 2, manifestly convicts, out of his own knowledge; for when he was ambassador in Egypt, he saw swallows, Spanish kites, and many such other European birds,[4] in December and January very familiarly flying, and in great abundance, about Alexandria, *ubi floridæ tunc arbores ac viridaria* [where trees and gardens are then in bloom]. Or lie they hid in caves, rocks, and hollow trees, as most think, in deep tin-mines or sea-cliffs, as Mr. Carew gives out?[5] I conclude of them all, for my part, as Munster doth of cranes and storks; whence they come, whither they go, *incompertum adhuc*, as yet we know not. We see them here, some in summer, some in winter; "their coming and going is sure in the night: in the plains of Asia" (saith he) "the storks meet on such a set day, he that comes last is torn in pieces, and so they get them gone."[6] Many strange places,

isthmi, euripi, Chersonesi [isthmuses, narrow channels, peninsulas], creeks, havens, promontories, straits, lakes, baths, rocks, mountains; places and fields where cities have been ruined or swallowed, battles fought; creatures, sea-monsters, remora, etc., minerals, vegetals. Zoophytes were fit to be considered in such an expedition, and amongst the rest that of Herbastein his Tartar lamb,[1] Hector Boethius' goose-bearing tree in the Orcades,[2] to which Cardan, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 36, *de rerum varietate*, subscribes: Vertomannus' wonderful palm;[3] that fly in Hispaniola, that shines like a torch in the night, that one may well see to write;[4] those spherical stones in Cuba which nature hath so made, and those like birds, beasts, fishes, crowns, swords, saws, pots, etc., usually found in the metal mines in Saxony about Mansfield, and in Poland near Nokow and Pallukie, as Munster[5] and others relate. Many rare creatures and novelties each part of the world affords: amongst the rest, I would know for a certain whether there be any such men, as Leo Suavius, in his Comment on Paracelsus *de sanit. tuend.*, and Gaguinus records in his description of Muscovy, "that in Lucomoria, a province in Russia, lie fast asleep as dead all winter, from the 27th of November, like frogs and swallows, benumbed with cold, but about the 24th of April in the spring they revive again, and go about their business."[6] I would examine that demonstration of Alexander Piccolomineus, whether the earth's superficies be bigger than the sea's: or that of Archimedes be true, the superficies of all water is even? Search the depth, and see that variety of sea-monsters and fishes, mermaids, seamen, horses, etc., which it affords. Or whether that be true which Jordanus Brunus scoffs at, that if God did not detain it, the sea would overflow the earth by reason of his higher site, and which Josephus Blancanus the Jesuit, in his interpretation on those mathematical places of Aristotle, foolishly fears, and in a just tract proves by many circumstances that in time the sea will waste away the land, and all the globe of the earth shall be covered with waters; *risum teneatis, amici?* [can you contain your laughter, friends?] what the sea takes away in one place it adds in another. Methinks he might rather suspect the sea should in time be filled by land, trees grow up, carcasses, etc., that all-devouring fire, *omnia devorans et consumens*, will sooner cover and dry up the vast ocean with sand and ashes. I would examine the true seat of that terrestrial paradise,[7] and where Ophir was, whence Solomon did fetch his gold: from Peruana, which some suppose, or that Aurea Chersonesus, as Dominicus

Niger, Arias Montanus, Goropius, and others will. I would censure all Pliny's, Solinus', Strabo's, Sir John Mandeville's, Olaus Magnus', Marcus Polus' lies, correct those errors in navigation, reform cosmographical charts, and rectify longitudes, if it were possible; not by the compass, as some dream, with Mark Ridley in his Treatise of Magnetical Bodies, *cap.* 43, for as Cabeus, *Magnet. philos. lib.* 3, *cap.* 4, fully resolves, there is no hope thence; yet I would observe some better means to find them out.

I would have a convenient place to go down with Orpheus, Ulysses, Hercules, Lucian's Menippus,[1] at St. Patrick's Purgatory, at Trophonius' den,[2] Hecla in Iceland, Ætna in Sicily, to descend and see what is done in the bowels of the earth; do stones and metals grow there still? how come fir-trees to be digged out from the tops of hills,[3] as in our mosses and marshes all over Europe? How come they to dig up fish-bones, shells, beams, iron-works, many fathoms underground, and anchors in mountains far remote from all seas? *Anno* 1460, at Berne in Switzerland, 50 fathom deep, a ship was digged out of a mountain where they got metal ore, in which were 48 carcasses of men, with other merchandise.[4] That such things are ordinarily found in tops of hills, Aristotle insinuates in his Meteors, Pomponius Mela in his first book, *cap. de Numidia*,[5] and familiarly in the Alps, saith Blancanus the Jesuit,[6] the like is to be seen. Came this from earthquakes, or from Noah's flood, as Christians suppose? or is there a vicissitude of sea and land, as Anaximenes held of old the mountains of Thessaly would become seas, and seas again mountains? The whole world belike should be new-moulded, when it seemed good to those all-commanding powers, and turned inside out, as we do hay-cocks in harvest, top to bottom, or bottom to top: or as we turn apples to the fire, move the world upon his centre; that which is under the poles now, should be translated to the equinoctial, and that which is under the torrid zone to the Circle Arctic and Antarctic another while, and so be reciprocally warmed by the sun: or if the worlds be infinite, and every fixed star a sun, with his compassing planets (as Brunus and Campanella conclude), cast three or four worlds into one; or else of one world make three or four new, as it shall seem to them best. To proceed, if the earth be 21,500 miles in compass,[7] its diameter is 7,000 from us to our antipodes, and what shall be comprehended in all that space? What is the centre of the earth? is it pure element only, as Aristotle decrees, inhabited (as Paracelsus thinks[8]) with creatures whose

chaos is the earth: or with fairies, as the woods and waters (according to him) are with nymphs, or as the air with spirits? Dionysiodorus, a mathematician in Pliny,[1] that sent a letter *ad superos* [to the upper world] after he was dead, from the centre of the earth, to signify what distance the same centre was from the superficies of the same, viz. 42,000 stadiums, might have done well to have satisfied all these doubts. Or is it the place of hell, as Virgil in his Æneid, Plato, Lucian, Dante, and others poetically describe it, and as many of our divines think? In good earnest, Anthony Rusca, one of the society of that Ambrosian College, in Milan, in his great volume *de Inferno*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 47, is stiff in this tenent, 'tis a corporeal fire tow, *cap.* 5, *lib.* 2, as he there disputes. "Whatsoever philosophers write" (saith Surius[2]), "there be certain mouths of hell, and places appointed for the punishment of men's souls, as at Hecla in Iceland, where the ghosts of dead men are familiarly seen, and sometimes talk with the living: God would have such visible places, that mortal men might be certainly informed that there be such punishments after death, and learn hence to fear God." Cranzius, *Dan. hist. lib.* 2, *cap.* 24, subscribes to this opinion of Surius, so doth Colerus, *cap.* 12, *lib. de immortal. animæ* (out of the authority belike of St. Gregory, Durand, and the rest of the Schoolmen, who derive as much from Ætna in Sicily, Lipari, Hiera, and those sulphureous vulcanian islands), making Terra del Fuego and those frequent volcanoes in America (of which Acosta, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 24), that fearful mount Hecklebirg in Norway, an especial argument to prove it, "where lamentable screeches and howlings are continually heard, which strike a terror to the auditors; fiery chariots are commonly seen to bring in the souls of men in the likeness of crows, and devils ordinarily go in and out."[3] Such another proof is that place near the Pyramids in Egypt, by Cairo, as well to confirm this as the resurrection, mentioned by Kornmannus, *Mirac. mort. lib.* 1, *cap.* 38, Camerarius, *Oper. subcis. cap.* 37, Bredenbachius, *Pereg. Ter. Sanct.*, and some others, "where once a year dead bodies arise about March, and walk, after awhile hide themselves again: thousands of people come yearly to see them."[4] But these and such like testimonies others reject, as fables, illusions of spirits, and they will have no such local known place, more than Styx or Phlegethon, Pluto's court, or that poetical *Infernus*, where Homer's soul was seen hanging on a tree, etc., to which they ferried over in Charon's boat, or went down at Hermione in Greece, *compendiaria ad inferos via*,

which is the shortest cut, *quia nullum a mortuis naulum eo loci exposcunt* (saith Gerbelius[1]), and besides there were no fees to be paid. Well then, is it hell, or purgatory, as Bellarmine, or *Limbus patrum* [limbo], as Gallucius will, and as Rusca will (for they have made maps of it), or Ignatius' parlour?[2] Virgil, sometime Bishop of Salzburg (as Aventinus, *anno* 745, relates), by Bonifacius, Bishop of Mentz, was therefore called in question, because he held antipodes (which they made a doubt whether Christ died for) and so by that means took away the seat of hell, or so contracted it that it could bear no proportion to heaven, and contradicted that opinion of Austin, Basil, Lactantius, that held the earth round as a trencher (whom Acosta and common experience more largely confute) but not as a ball; and Jerusalem, where Christ died, the middle of it; or Delos, as the fabulous Greeks feigned: because when Jupiter let two eagles loose, to fly from the world's ends east and west, they met at Delos. But that scruple of Bonifacius is now quite taken away by our latter divines: Franciscus Ribera, *in cap.* 14 *Apocalyps.*, will have hell a material and local fire in the centre of the earth, 200 Italian miles in diameter, as he defines it out of those words, *Exivit sanguis de terra . . . per stadia mille sexcenta* [blood came out of the earth for 1,600 furlongs], etc. But Lessius, *lib.* 13 *de moribus divinis, cap.* 24, will have this local hell far less, one Dutch mile in diameter, all filled with fire and brimstone; because, as he there demonstrates, that space, cubically multiplied, will make a sphere able to hold 800,000 millions of damned bodies (allowing each body six foot square), which will abundantly suffice; *cum certum sit, inquit, facta subductione, non futuros centies mille milliones damnandorum* [since it is beyond question that, after proper subtraction is made, there will not be 100,000 millions damned]. But if it be no material fire (as Scotus, Thomas, Bonaventure, Soncinas, Vossius, and others argue), it may be there or elsewhere, as Keckerman disputes, *System. Theol.*, for sure somewhere it is, *certum est alicubi, etsi definitus circulus non assignetur* [it is certainly somewhere, although a definite zone cannot be assigned to it]. I will end the controversy in Austin's words, "Better doubt of things concealed, than to contend about uncertainties, where Abraham's bosom is, and hell-fire";[3] *vix a mansuetis, a contentiosis nunquam invenitur:*[4] scarce the meek, the contentious shall never find. If it be solid earth, 'tis the fountain of metals, waters, which by his innate temper turns air into water, which springs up in several chinks to moisten

the earth's superficies, and that in a tenfold proportion (as Aristotle holds); or else these fountains come directly from the sea by secret passages,[1] and so made fresh again by running through the bowels of the earth; and are either thick, thin, hot, cold, as the matter or minerals are by which they pass; or, as Peter Martyr, *Ocean. decad. lib.* 9, and some others hold, from abundance of rain that falls,[2] or from that ambient heat and cold, which alters that inward heat, and so *per consequens* the generation of waters. Or else it may be full of wind, or a sulphureous innate fire, as our meteorologists inform us, which sometimes breaking out, causeth those horrible earthquakes which are so frequent in these days in Japan, China, and oftentimes swallow up whole cities. Let Lucian's Menippus consult with or ask of Tiresias, if you will not believe philosophers; he shall clear all your doubts when he makes a second voyage.

In the meantime let us consider of that which is *sub dio* [in the open], and find out a true cause, if it be possible, of such accidents, meteors, alterations, as happen above ground. Whence proceed that variety of manners, and a distinct character (as it were) to several nations? Some are wise, subtile, witty; others dull, sad, and heavy; some big, some little, as Tully *de Fato*, Plato *in Timæo*, Vegetius, and Bodine proves at large, *Method. cap.* 5; some soft, and some hardy, barbarous, civil, black, dun, white; is it from the air, from the soil, influence of stars, or some other secret cause? Why doth Africa breed so many venomous beasts, Ireland none? Athens owls, Crete none? Why hath Daulis and Thebes no swallows (so Pausanias informeth us[3]) as well as the rest of Greece, Ithaca no hares,[4] Pontus asses, Scythia swine? Whence comes this variety of complexions, colours, plants, birds, beasts, metals,[5] peculiar almost to every place? Why so many thousand strange birds and beasts proper to America alone, as Acosta demands, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 36? Were they created in the six days, or ever in Noah's ark? if there, why are they not dispersed and found in other countries? It is a thing (saith he) hath long held me in suspense; no Greek, Latin, Hebrew ever heard of them before, and yet as differing from our European animals as an egg and a chestnut: and, which is more, kine, horses, sheep, etc., till the Spaniards brought them, were never heard of in those parts. How comes it to pass, that in the same site, in one latitude, to such as are *periœci* [neighbours], there should be such difference of soil, complexion, colour, metal, air, etc. The

Spaniards are white, and so are Italians, whenas the inhabitants about *Caput Bonæ Spei* [1] [the Cape of Good Hope] are blackamoors, and yet both alike distant from the Equator: nay, they that dwell in the same parallel line with these negroes, as about the Straits of Magellan, are white-coloured, and yet some in Presbyter John's country in Æthiopia are dun; they in Zeilan and Malabar parallel with them again black: Monomotapa in Africa and St. Thomas' Isle are extreme hot, both under the line, coal-black their inhabitants, whereas in Peru they are quite opposite in colour, very temperate, or rather cold, and yet both alike elevated. Moscow in 53 degrees of latitude extreme cold, as those northern countries usually are, having one perpetual hard frost all winter long; and in 52 deg. lat. sometimes hard frost and snow all summer, as in Button's Bay, etc., or by fits; and yet England, near the same latitude, and Ireland, very moist, warm, and more temperate in winter than Spain, Italy, or France.[2] Is it the sea that causeth this difference, and the air that comes from it? Why then is Ister [3] so cold near the Euxine, Pontus, Bithynia, and all Thrace? *frigidas regiones* [chilly regions] Maginus calls them, and yet their latitude is but 42, which should be hot: Quevira,[4] or Nova Albion in America, bordering on the sea, was so cold in July that our Englishmen could hardly endure it.[5] At Norembega, in 45 lat., all the sea is frozen ice, and yet in a more southern latitude than ours. New England, and the island of Cambriol Colchis,[6] which that noble gentleman Mr. Vaughan, or Orpheus Junior, describes in his Golden Fleece, is in the same latitude with Little Britain in France, and yet their winter begins not till January, their spring till May; which search he accounts worthy of an astrologer: is this from the easterly winds, or melting of ice and snow dissolved within the Circle Arctic; or that the air being thick, is longer before it be warm by the sunbeams, and once heated like an oven will keep itself from cold? Our climes breed lice, Hungary [7] and Ireland *male audiunt* [have a bad name] in this kind; come to the Azores, by a secret virtue of that air they are instantly consumed, and all our European vermin almost, saith Ortelius. Egypt is watered with Nilus not far from the sea, and yet there it seldom or never rains: Rhodes, an island of the same nature, yields not a cloud, and yet our islands ever dropping and inclining to rain. The Atlantic Ocean is still subject to storms, but in Del Zur, or *Mari Pacifico* [the Pacific Ocean], seldom or never any. Is it from topic stars, *apertio portarum* [the opening of the gates], in the dode-

catemories or constellations, the moon's mansions, such aspects of planets, such winds, or dissolving air, or thick air, which causeth this and the like differences of heat and cold? Bodine relates of a Portugal ambassador, that coming from Lisbon [1] to Dantzic [2] in Spruce, found greater heat there than at any time at home. Don Garcia de Silva, legate to Philip III, King of Spain, residing at Ispahan in Persia, 1619, in his letter to the Marquess of Bedmar, makes mention of greater cold in Ispahan, whose lat. is 31 gr., than ever he felt in Spain, or any part of Europe. The torrid zone was by our predecessors held to be uninhabitable, but by our modern travellers found to be most temperate, bedewed with frequent rains and moistening showers, the brise and cooling blasts in some parts, as Acosta describes,[3] most pleasant and fertile (Arica in Chili is by report one of the sweetest places that ever the sun shined on, *Olympus terræ*, a heaven on earth: how incomparably do some extol Mexico in Nova Hispania, Peru, Brazil, etc.!); in some again hard, dry, sandy, barren, a very desert, and still in the same latitude. Many times we find great diversity of air in the same country,[4] by reason of the site to seas, hills, or dales, want of water, nature of soil, and the like: as in Spain Aragon is *aspera et sicca*, harsh and evil inhabited; Estremadura is dry, sandy, barren most part, extreme hot by reason of his plains; Andalusia another paradise; Valencia a most pleasant air, and continually green; so is it about Granada,[5] on the one side fertile plains, on the other continual snow to be seen all summer long on the hill-tops. That their houses in the Alps are three-quarters of the year covered with snow, who knows not? That Teneriffe is so cold at the top, extreme hot at the bottom; Mons Atlas in Africa, Libanus in Palestine, with many such, *tantos inter ardores fidos nivibus* [invariably snow-clad even in that hot climate], Tacitus calls them,[6] and Radzivilius, *Epist. 2, fol. 27*, yields it to be far hotter there than in any part of Italy: 'tis true; but they are highly elevated, near the middle region, and therefore cold, *ob paucam solarium radiorum refractionem* [on account of the slight refraction of the sun's rays], as Serrarius answers, *Com. in 3 cap. Josua, quæst.* 5, Abulensis, *quæst.* 37. In the heat of summer, in the king's palace in Escurial, the air is most temperate, by reason of a cold blast which comes from the snowy mountains of Sierra de Guadarama hard by, whenas in Toledo it is very hot: so in all other countries. The causes of these alterations are commonly by reason of their nearness (I say) to the middle region: but this diversity of air, in places

equally site, elevated, and distant from the Pole, can hardly be satisfied with that diversity of plants, birds, beasts which is so familiar with us: with Indians, everywhere, the sun is equally distant, the same vertical stars, the same irradiations of planets, aspects like, the same nearness of seas, the same superficies, the same soil, or not much different. Under the Equator itself, amongst the sierras, Andes, llanos, as Herrera, Laet, and Acosta [1] contend, there is *tam mirabilis et inopinata varietas*, such variety of weather, *ut merito exerceat ingenia*, that no philosophy can yet find out the true cause of it. When I consider how temperate it is in one place, saith Acosta,[2] within the Tropic of Capricorn, as about La Plata, and yet hard by at Potosi, in that same altitude, mountainous alike, extreme cold; extreme hot in Brazil, etc.; *hic ego*, saith Acosta, *philosophiam Aristotelis meteorologicam vehementer irrisi, cum* [I had to laugh at Aristotle's meteorology, since], etc.; when the sun comes nearest to them, they have great tempests, storms, thunder and lightning, great store of rain, snow, and the foulest weather: when the sun is vertical, their rivers overflow, the morning fair and hot, noon-day cold and moist: all which is opposite to us. How comes it to pass? Scaliger, *Poetices lib.* 3, *cap.* 16, discourseth thus of this subject. How comes, or wherefore is, this *temeraria siderum dispositio*, this rash placing of stars, or, as Epicurus will, *fortuita*, or accidental? Why are some big, some little? Why are they so confusedly, unequally site in the heavens, and set so much out of order? In all other things nature is equal, proportionable, and constant; there be *justæ dimensiones, et prudens partium dispositio* [just dimensions, and a wise arrangement of parts]; as in the fabric of man, his eyes, ears, nose, face, members are correspondent, *cur non idem cælo opere omnium pulcherrimo?* [why is it not so in the sky, the fairest part of creation?] Why are the heavens so irregular, *neque paribus molibus, neque paribus intervallis* [as regards both mass and interstices]? whence is this difference? *Diversos* (he concludes) *efficere locorum genios*, to make diversity of countries, soils, manners, customs, characters, and constitutions among us, *ut quantum vicinia ad caritatem addat, sidera distrahant ad perniciem* [in order that the stars may sunder those whom proximity would naturally make friends], and so by this means *fluvio vel monte distincti sunt dissimiles* [people separated only by a river or a mountain are dissimilar], the same places almost shall be distinguished in manners. But this reason is weak and most

insufficient. The fixed stars are removed since Ptolemy's time 26 gr. from the first of Aries, and if the earth be immovable, as their site varies, so should countries vary, and divers alterations would follow. But this we perceive not; as in Tully's time with us in Britain, *cælum visu fœdum, et in quo facile generantur nubes* [their sky is gloomy and quickly becomes overcast], etc., 'tis so still. Wherefore Bodine, *Theat. nat. lib. 2*, and some others, will have all these alterations and effects immediately to proceed from those genii, spirits, angels, which rule and domineer in several places; they cause storms, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, ruins, tempests, great winds, floods, etc. The philosophers of Coimbra will refer this diversity to the influence of that empyrean heaven: for some say the eccentricity of the sun is come nearer to the earth than in Ptolemy's time, the virtue therefore of all the vegetals is decayed, men grow less, etc.[1] There are that observe new motions of the heavens, new stars, *palantia sidera* [wandering stars], comets, clouds, call them what you will, like those Medicean, Bourbonian, Austrian planets lately detected, which do not decay, but come and go, rise higher and lower, hide and show themselves amongst the fixed stars, amongst the planets, above and beneath the moon, at set times, now nearer, now farther off, together, asunder; as he that plays upon a sackbut by pulling it up and down alters his tones and tunes, do they their stations and places, though to us undiscerned; and from those motions proceed (as they conceive) divers alterations. Clavius conjectures otherwise, but they be but conjectures. About Damascus in Cœle-Syria is a paradise,[2] by reason of the plenty of waters, *in promptu causa est* [the cause is obvious], and the deserts of Arabia barren, because of rocks, rolling seas of sands, and dry mountains, *quod inaquosa* (saith Adricomius) *montes habens asperos, saxosos, præcipites, horroris et mortis speciem præ se ferentes*, uninhabitable therefore of men, birds, beasts, void of all green trees, plants, and fruits, a vast rocky horrid wilderness, which by no art can be manured, 'tis evident. Bohemia is cold, for that it lies all along to the north. But why should it be so hot in Egypt, or there never rain? Why should those etesian and north-eastern winds blow continually and constantly so long together, in some places, at set times, one way still, in the dog-days only:[3] here perpetual drought, there dropping showers; here foggy mists, there a pleasant air;[4] here terrible thunder and lightning at such set seasons, here frozen seas all the year, there open in the same latitude,

to the rest no such thing, nay, quite opposite is to be found? Sometimes (as in Peru [1]) on the one side of the mountains it is hot, on the other cold, here snow, there wind, with infinite such. Fromundus, in his Meteors, will excuse or solve all this by the sun's motion, but when there is such diversity to such as [are] *periœci* [neighbours], or very near site, how can that position hold?

Who can give a reason of this diversity of meteors, that it should rain stones,[2] frogs, mice, etc., rats, which they call *lemmer* in Norway, and are manifestly observed (as Munster writes [3]) by the inhabitants to descend and fall with some feculent showers, and like so many locusts, consume all that is green. Leo Afer speaks as much of locusts, about Fez in Barbary there be infinite swarms in their fields upon a sudden: so at Arles in France, 1553, the like happened by the same mischief, all their grass and fruits were devoured, *magna incolarum admiratione et consternatione* (as Valleriola, *Obser. med. lib.* 1, *obser.* 1, relates) *cœlum subito obumbrabant* [to the amazement and consternation of the inhabitants, they suddenly darkened the heavens], etc.; he concludes it could not be from natural causes, they cannot imagine whence they come, but from heaven.[4] Are these and such creatures, corn, wood, stones, worms, wool, blood, etc., lifted up into the middle region by the sunbeams, as Baracellus the physician disputes,[5] and thence let fall with showers, or there engendered? Cornelius Gemma [6] is of that opinion, they are there conceived by celestial influences: others suppose they are immediately from God, or prodigies raised by art and illusions of spirits, which are princes of the air; to whom Bodine, *lib. 2 Theat. Nat.*, subscribes. In fine, of meteors in general, Aristotle's reasons are exploded by Bernardinus Telesius, by Paracelsus his principles confuted, and other causes assigned, *sal* [salt], sulphur, mercury, in which his disciples are so expert, that they can alter elements, and separate at their pleasure, make perpetual motions, not as Cardan, Taisnier, Peregrinus, by some magnetical virtue, but by mixture of elements; imitate thunder, like Salmoneus, snow, hail, the sea's ebbing and flowing, give life to creatures (as they say) without generation, and what not? P. Nonius Saluciensis and Kepler take upon them to demonstrate that no meteors, clouds, fogs, vapours,[7] arise higher than fifty or eighty miles, and all the rest to be purer air or element of fire: which Cardan,[8] Tycho,[9] and John Pena [10] manifestly confute by refractions, and many other arguments, there is no such element of fire at all.

If, as Tycho proves, the moon be distant from us fifty and sixty semi-diameters of the earth, and, as Peter Nonius will have it, the air be so angust, what proportion is there betwixt the other three elements and it? To what use serves it? Is it full of spirits which inhabit it, as the Paracelsians and Platonists hold, the higher the more noble, full of birds,[1] or a mere vacuum to no purpose? It is much controverted between Tycho Brahe and Christopher Rotman, the Landgrave of Hesse's mathematician, in their Astronomical Epistles, whether it be the same *diaphanum*, clearness, matter of air and heavens, or two distinct essences? Christopher Rotman, John Pena, Jordanus Brunus, with many other late mathematicians, contend it is the same and one matter throughout, saving that the higher still the purer it is, and more subtile; as they find by experience in the top of some hills in America;[2] if a man ascend, he faints instantly for want of thicker air to refrigerate the heart. Acosta, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 9, calls this mountain Periacacca in Peru; it makes men cast and vomit, he saith, that climb it, as some other of those Andes do in the deserts of Chile for five hundred miles together, and for extremity of cold to lose their fingers and toes. Tycho will have two distinct matters of heaven and air; but to say truth, with some small qualification, they have one and the self-same opinion about the essence and matter of heavens; that it is not hard and impenetrable, as Peripatetics hold, transparent, of a *quinta essentia* [fifth essence], "but that it is penetrable and soft as the air itself is, and that the planets move in it, as birds in the air, fishes in the sea."[3] This they prove by motion of comets, and otherwise (though Claremontius in his *Antitycho* stiffly oppose), which are not generated, as Aristotle teacheth, in the aerial region, of a hot and dry exhalation, and so consumed: but, as Anaxagoras and Democritus held of old, of a celestial matter: and as Tycho,[4] Helisæus,[5] Rœslin, Thaddæus Haggesius, Pena, Rotman, Fracastorius, demonstrate by their progress, parallaxes, refractions, motions of the planets, which interfere and cut one another's orbs, now higher, and then lower, as ♂ amongst the rest, which sometimes, as Kepler[6] confirms by his own and Tycho's accurate observations, comes nearer the earth than the ☉, and is again eftsoons aloft in Jupiter's orb; and other sufficient reasons, far above the moon:[7] exploding in the meantime that element of fire, those fictitious first watery movers, those heavens, I mean, above the firmament, which Delrio, Lodovicus Imola, Patricius, and many of the Fathers affirm; those monstrous orbs of

eccentrics, and *eccentre epicycles deserentes* [epicycles leaving the eccentric], which, howsoever Ptolemy, Alhazen, Vitellio, Purbachius, Maginus, Clavius, and many of their associates, stiffly maintain to be real orbs, eccentric, concentric, circles equant, etc., are absurd and ridiculous. For who is so mad to think that there should be so many circles, like subordinate wheels in a clock, all impenetrable and hard, as they feign, add and subtract at their pleasure. Maginus makes eleven heavens,[1] subdivided into their orbs and circles, and all too little to serve those particular appearances: Fracastorius, seventy-two homocentrics; Tycho Brahe, Nicholas Ramerus, Helisæus Rœslin, have peculiar hypotheses of their own inventions; and they be but inventions, as most of them acknowledge, as we admit of equators, tropics, colures, circles arctic and antarctic, for doctrine's sake (though Ramus thinks them all unnecessary), they will have them supposed only for method and order. Tycho hath feigned I know not how many subdivisions of epicycles in epicycles, etc., to calculate and express the moon's motion: but when all is done, as a supposition, and no otherwise; not (as he holds) hard, impenetrable, subtile, transparent, etc., or making music, as Pythagoras maintained of old, and Robert Constantine of late, but still quiet, liquid, open, etc.

If the heavens then be penetrable, as these men deliver, and no lets, it were not amiss in this aerial progress to make wings and fly up, which that Turk in Busbequius made his fellow-citizens in Constantinople believe he would perform: and some newfangled wits, methinks, should some time or other find out: or if that may not be, yet with a Galileo's glass, or Icaromenippus' wings in Lucian, command the spheres and heavens, and see what is done amongst them. Whether there be generation and corruption, as some think, by reason of ethereal comets, that in Cassiopea, 1572, that in Cygnus, 1600, that in Sagittarius, 1604, and many like, which by no means Julius Cæsar la Galla, that Italian philosopher, in his physical disputation with Galileus *de phenomenis in orbe lunæ* [concerning the phenomena in the orb of the moon], *cap.* 9, will admit: or that they were created *ab initio* [from the beginning], and show themselves at set times: and as Helisæus Rœslin contends,[2] have poles, axle-trees, circles of their own, and regular motions. For, *non pereunt, sed minuuntur et disparent* [they do not dissolve, but diminish and finally disappear], Blancanus holds,[3] they come and go by fits, casting their tails still from the sun, some of them, as a burning-glass projects the sunbeams from it; though

not always neither: for sometimes a comet casts his tail from Venus, as Tycho observes; and, as Helisæus Rœslin of some others,[1] from the moon, with little stars about them *ad stuporem astronomorum*; *cum multis aliis in cælo miraculis* [to the amazement of astronomers; with many other wonders in the heavens], all which argue, with those Medicean, Austrian, and Bourbonian stars, that the heaven of the planets is indistinct, pure, and open, in which the planets move *certis legibus ac metis* [regularly and in fixed orbits]. Examine likewise *An cælum sit coloratum* [whether the sky is coloured]? Whether the stars be of that bigness, distance, as astronomers relate, so many in number,[2] 1026, or 1725, as J. Bayerus; or as some rabbins, 29,000 myriads; or as Galileo discovers by his glasses, infinite, and that *via lactea* [Milky Way] a confused light of small stars, like so many nails in a door: or all in a row, like those 12,000 isles of the Maldives in the Indian Ocean? Whether the least visible star in the eighth sphere be eighteen times bigger than the earth, and, as Tycho calculates, 14,000 semidiameters distant from it? Whether they be thicker parts of the orbs, as Aristotle delivers: or so many habitable worlds, as Democritus? Whether they have light of their own, or from the sun, or give light round, as Patricius discourseth? *An æque distent a centro mundi* [whether they are equally distant from the centre of the world]? Whether light be of their essence; and that light be a substance or an accident? Whether they be hot by themselves, or by accident cause heat? Whether there be such a precession of the equinoxes as Copernicus holds, or that the eighth sphere move? *An bene philosophentur* R. Bacon and J. Dee, *aphorism. de multiplicatione specierum* [whether Roger Bacon and John Dee reason well in their aphorisms on the multiplication of images]? Whether there be any such images ascending with each degree of the zodiac in the east, as Aliacensis feigns? *An aqua super cælum* [whether there is water above the sky]? as Patricius and the schoolmen will, a crystalline watery heaven,[3] which is certainly to be understood of that in the middle region;[4] for otherwise, if at Noah's flood the water came from thence, it must be above an hundred years falling down to us, as some calculate.[5] Besides, *an terra sit animata* [whether the earth is animate]? which some so confidently believe, with Orpheus, Hermes, Averroes, from which all other souls of men, beasts, devils, plants, fishes, etc. are derived, and into which again, after some revolutions, as Plato in his *Timæus*, Plotinus in his *Enneades*, more largely discuss, they return (see Chalcidius and

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Bennius, Plato's commentators), as all philosophical matter, *in materiam primam* [to their original material]. Keplerus, Patricius, and some other neoterics have in part revived this opinion; and that every star in heaven hath a soul, angel, or intelligence to animate or move it, etc. Or, to omit all smaller controversies, as matters of less moment, and examine that main paradox of the earth's motion, now so much in question: Aristarchus Samius, Pythagoras, maintained it of old, Democritus, and many of their scholars. Didacus Astunica, Anthony Fascarinus, a Carmelite, and some other commentators, will have Job to insinuate as much, *cap.* 9, *ver.* 6, *Qui commovet terram de loco suo* [which shaketh the earth out of her place], etc., and that this one place of Scripture makes more for the earth's motion than all the other prove against it; whom Pineda confutes, most contradict. Howsoever, it is revived since by Copernicus, not as a truth, but a supposition, as he himself confesseth in the Preface to Pope Nicholas, but now maintained in good earnest by Calcagninus,[1] Telesius, Kepler, Rotman, Gilbert, Digges, Galileo, Campanella, and especially by Lansbergius,[2] *naturæ, rationi, et veritati consentaneum* [as agreeing with nature, reason, and truth], by Origanus, and some others of his followers.[3] For if the earth be the centre of the world, stand still, and the heavens move, as the most received opinion is,[4] which they call *inordinatam cœli dispositionem* [an ill-regulated disposition of the sky], though stiffly maintained by Tycho, Ptolemæus, and their adherents, *quis ille furor?* etc., what fury is that, saith Dr. Gilbert,[5] *satis animose* [with a good deal of temper], as Cabeus notes, that shall drive the heavens about with such incomprehensible celerity in twenty-four hours? whenas every point of the firmament, and in the Equator, must needs move (so Clavius calculates[6]) 176,660 in one 246th part of an hour: and an arrow out of a bow must go seven times about the earth, whilst a man can say an Ave Maria, if it keep the same space, or compass the earth 1,884 times in an hour, which is *supra humanam cogitationem*, beyond human conceit: *Ocior et jaculo, et ventos æquante sagitta* [swifter than a dart, or arrow swift as wind]. A man could not ride so much ground, going 40 miles a day, in 2,904 years as the firmament goes in 24 hours, or so much in 2·3 years as the firmament in one minute: *quod incredibile videtur* [which seems incredible]: and the pole-star,[7] which to our thinking scarce moveth out of his place, goeth a bigger circuit than the sun, whose diameter is much larger than the diameter of the heaven of the sun, and

20,000 semi-diameters of the earth from us, with the rest of the fixed stars, as Tycho proves. To avoid therefore these impossibilities, they ascribe a triple motion to the earth, the sun immovable in the centre of the whole world, the earth centre of the moon alone, above ♀ and ☿, beneath ♄, ♃, ♂ (or, as Origanus [1] and others will, one single motion to the earth, still placed in the centre of the world, which is more probable); a single motion to the firmament, which moves in 30 or 26 thousand years; and so the planets, Saturn in thirty years absolves his sole and proper motion, Jupiter in 12, Mars in 3, etc., and so solve all appearances better than any way whatsoever: calculate all motions, be they in *longum* [lengthwise] or *latum* [breadthwise], direct, stationary, retrograde, ascent or descent, without epicycles, intricate eccentrics, etc., *rectius commodiusque per unicum motum terræ* [more accurately and more simply by the single motion of the earth], saith Lansbergius, much more certain than by those Alphonsine, or any such tables, which are grounded from those other suppositions. And 'tis true they say, according to optic principles, the visible appearances of the planets do so indeed answer to their magnitudes and orbs, and come nearest to mathematical observations and precedent calculations; there is no repugnancy to physical axioms, because no penetration of orbs; but then, between the sphere of Saturn and the firmament, there is such an incredible and vast space [2] or distance (7,000,000 semi-diameters of the earth, as Tycho calculates) void of stars: and besides, they do so enhance the bigness of the stars, enlarge their circuit, to solve those ordinary objections of parallaxes and retrogradations of the fixed stars, that alteration of the poles, elevation in several places or latitude of cities here on earth (for, say they, if a man's eye were in the firmament, he should not at all discern that great annual motion of the earth, but it would still appear *punctum indivisibile* [an indivisible point], and seem to be fixed in one place, of the same bigness), that it is quite opposite to reason, to natural philosophy, and all out as absurd as disproportional (so some will), as prodigious, as that of the sun's swift motion of heavens. But *hoc posito*, to grant this their tenent of the earth's motion: if the earth move, it is a planet, and shines to them in the moon, and to the other planetary inhabitants, as the moon and they do to us upon the earth: but shine she doth, as Galileo, Kepler,[3] and others prove, and then, *per consequens*, the rest of the planets are inhabited, as well as the moon, which he grants in his dissertation with

Galileo's *nuncius sidereus* [messenger from the stars], "that there be Jovial and Saturnine inhabitants," [1] etc., and those several planets have their several moons about them, as the earth hath hers, as Galileo hath already evinced by his glasses: four about Jupiter,[2] two about Saturn (though Sitius the Florentine, Fortunius Licetus, and Jul. Cæsar la Galla cavil at it, yet Kepler, the emperor's mathematician, confirms out of his experience that he saw as much by the same help), and more about Mars, Venus; and the rest they hope to find out, peradventure even amongst the fixed stars, which Brunus and Brutius have already averred. Then (I say) the earth and they be planets alike, inhabited alike, moved about the sun, the common centre of the world alike, and it may be those two green children which Nubrigensis speaks of [3] in his time, that fell from heaven, came from thence; and that famous stone that fell from heaven in Aristotle's time, Olymp. 84, *anno tertio, ad Capuæ fluenta* [in the third year, near the streams of Capua], recorded by Laertius and others, or *ancile* or buckler in Numa's time, recorded by Festus. We may likewise insert with Campanella and Brunus that which Pythagoras, Aristarchus Samius, Heraclitus, Epicurus, Melissus, Democritus, Leucippus maintained in their ages: there be infinite worlds,[4] and infinite earths or systems, *in infinito æthere* [in the infinite ether], which Eusebius collects out of their tenents,[5] because infinite stars and planets like unto this of ours, which some stick not still to maintain and publicly defend, *sperabundus exsperto innumerabilium mundorum in æternitate perambulationem* [I confidently count upon the eternal movement of innumerable worlds], etc. (Nic. Hill, Londinensis, *Philos. Epicur.*). For if the firmament be of such an incomparable bigness as these Copernical giants will have it, *infinitum, aut infinito proximum* [infinite, or very nearly infinite], so vast and full of innumerable stars, as being infinite in extent, one above another, some higher, some lower, some nearer, some farther off, and so far asunder, and those so huge and great, insomuch that if the whole sphere of Saturn, and all that is included in it, *totum aggregatum* (as Fromundus of Louvain in his tract *de immobilitate terræ* argues) *evehatur inter stellas, videri a nobis non poterat, tam immanis est distantia inter tellurem et fixas, sed instar puncti, etc.* [if the whole aggregate were carried away to the stars, it would not be visible to us, so immense is the distance between the earth and the fixed stars, but like a point, etc.]. If our world be small in respect, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite

stars visible in the firmament to be so many suns, with particular fixed centres; to have likewise their subordinate planets, as the sun hath his dancing still round him? which Cardinal Cusanus, Walkarinus, Brunus, and some others have held, and some still maintain. *Animæ Aristotelismo innutritæ, et minutis speculationibus assuetæ, secus forsan* [minds brought up on Aristotelianism and accustomed to minute speculations might think differently], etc. Though they seem close to us, they are infinitely distant, and so, *per consequens*, there are infinite habitable worlds: what hinders? Why should not an infinite cause (as God is) produce infinite effects? as Nic. Hill, *Democrit. philos.*, disputes. Kepler (I confess) will by no means admit of Brunus' infinite worlds, or that the fixed stars should be so many suns, with their compassing planets, yet the said Kepler [1] betwixt jest and earnest in his Perspectives, Lunar Geography, *et Somnio suo*,[2] *Dissertat. cum nunc. sider.*; seems in part to agree with this, and partly to contradict; for the planets, he yields them to be inhabited, he doubts of the stars; and so doth Tycho in his Astronomical Epistles, out of a consideration of their vastity and greatness, break out into some such-like speeches, that he will never believe those great and huge bodies were made to no other use than this that we perceive, to illuminate the earth, a point insensible in respect of the whole. But who shall dwell in these vast bodies, earths, worlds, "if they be inhabited? rational creatures?" as Kepler demands, "or have they souls to be saved? or do they inhabit a better part of the world than we do? Are we or they lords of the world? And how are all things made for man?" [3] *Difficile est nodum hunc expedire, eo quod nondum omnia quæ huc pertinent explorata habemus* [it is hard to resolve this difficulty. because we do not yet possess all the requisite data]: 'tis hard to determine; this only he proves, that we are in *præcipuo mundi sinu*, in the best place, best world, nearest the heart of the sun. Thomas Campanella, a Calabrian monk, in his second book *de sensu rerum*,[4] *cap.* 4, subscribes to this of Kepler; that they are inhabited he certainly supposeth, but with what kind of creatures he cannot say; he labours to prove it by all means, and that there are infinite worlds, having made an apology for Galileo, and dedicates this tenent of his to Cardinal Cajetanus. Others freely speak, mutter, and would persuade the world (as Marinus Marcennus complains [5]) that our modern divines are too severe and rigid against mathematicians, ignorant and peevish in not admitting their true demonstrations and

certain observations, that they tyrannize over art, science, and all philosophy, in suppressing their labours (saith Pomponatius), forbidding them to write, to speak a truth, all to maintain their superstition, and for their profit's sake. As for those places of Scripture which oppugn it, they will have spoken *ad captum vulgi* [for the popular intelligence], and if rightly understood, and favourably interpreted, not at all against it: and as Otho Casman, *Astrol. cap.* 1, *part.* 1, notes, many great divines, besides Porphyrius, Proclus, Simplicius, and those heathen philosophers, *doctrina et ætate venerandi, Mosis Genesin mundanam popularis nescio cujus ruditatis, quæ longa absit a vera philosophorum eruditione, insimulant* [venerable for age and learning, accuse the Mosaic cosmology of being a crude popular account, far removed from true philosophical learning]. For Moses makes mention but of two planets, ☉ and ☾, no four elements, etc. Read more on him, in Grossius [1] and Junius. But to proceed, these and such-like insolent and bold attempts, prodigious paradoxes, inferences, must needs follow, if it once be granted, which Rotman, Kepler, Gilbert, Diggeus, Origanus, Galileo, and others maintain of the earth's motion, that 'tis a planet, and shines as the moon doth, which contains in it "both land and sea as the moon doth"; for so they find by their glasses that *maculæ in facie lunæ* [the spots on the face of the moon], "the brighter parts are earth, the dusky sea," [2] which Thales, Plutarch, and Pythagoras formerly taught; and manifestly discern hills and dales, and such-like concavities, if we may subscribe to and believe Galileo's observations. But to avoid these paradoxes of the earth's motion (which the Church of Rome hath lately condemned as heretical,[3] as appears by Blancanus' and Fromundus' writings) our latter mathematicians have rolled all the stones that may be stirred: and, to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the world, out of their own Dædalian heads. Fracastorius will have the earth stand still, as before; and to avoid that supposition of eccentrics and epicycles, he hath coined seventy-two homocentrics, to solve all appearances. Nicholas Ramerus will have the earth the centre of the world, but movable, and the eighth sphere immovable, the five upper planets to move about the sun, the sun and moon about the earth. Of which orbs Tycho Brahe puts the earth the centre immovable, the stars immovable, the rest with Ramerus, the planets without orbs to wander in the air, keep time and distance, true motion, according to that virtue which

God hath given them. Helisæus Rœslin censureth both,[1] with Copernicus (whose hypothesis *de terræ motu* [about the motion of the earth] Philippus Lansbergius hath lately vindicated, and demonstrated with solid arguments in a just volume, Jansonius Cæsius hath illustrated in a sphere.) The said Johannes Lansbergius, 1633,[2] hath since defended his assertion against all the cavils and calumnies of Fromundus his *Anti-Aristarchus*, Baptista Morinus, and Petrus Bartholinus; Fromundus, 1634, hath written against him again, J. Rosseus of Aberdeen, etc. (sound drums and trumpets), whilst Rœslin (I say) censures all, and Ptolemæus himself as insufficient: one offends against natural philosophy, another against optic principles, a third against mathematical, as not answering to astronomical observations; one puts a great space between Saturn's orb and the eighth sphere, another too narrow. In his own hypothesis he makes the earth as before the universal centre, the sun to the five upper planets, to the eighth sphere he ascribes diurnal motion, eccentrics and epicycles to the seven planets, which hath been formerly exploded; and so, *Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt* [while they run away from one vice, they foolishly fall into the opposite one], as a tinker stops one hole and makes two, he corrects them and doth worse himself, reforms some and mars all. In the meantime, the world is tossed in a blanket amongst them, they hoist the earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures: one saith the sun stands, another he moves; a third comes in, taking them all at rebound, and, lest there should any paradox be wanting, he finds certain spots and clouds in the sun,[3] by the help of glasses, which multiply (saith Keplerus) a thing seen a thousand times bigger *in plano* [in clear air], and makes it come thirty-two times nearer to the eye of the beholder: but see the demonstration of this glass in Tarde,[4] by means of which the sun must turn round upon his own centre, or they about the sun. Fabricius puts only three, and those in the sun: Apelles fifteen, and those without the sun, floating like the Cyanean Isles in the Euxine Sea. Tarde, the Frenchman,[5] hath observed thirty-three, and those neither spots nor clouds, as Galileo, *Epist. ad Velserum*, supposeth, but planets concentric with the sun, and not far from him with regular motions. Christopher Scheiner, a German Suisser Jesuit, *Ursica Rosa*,[6] divides them *in maculas et faculas* [into spots and faculæ], and will have them to be fixed *in solis superficie* [on the surface of the sun], and to absolve their periodical and regular motion in twenty-seven or twenty

eight days, holding withal the rotation of the sun upon his centre; and all are so confident that they have made schemes and tables of their motions. The Hollander, in his *dissertatiuncula cum Apelle*,[1] censures all; and thus they disagree amongst themselves, old and new, irreconcilable in their opinions; thus Aristarchus, thus Hipparchus, thus Ptolemæus, thus Albateginus, thus Alfraganus, thus Tycho, thus Ramerus, thus Rœslinus, thus Fracastorius, thus Copernicus and his adherents, thus Clavius and Maginus, etc., with their followers, vary and determine of these celestial orbs and bodies: and so, whilst these men contend about the sun and moon, like the philosophers in Lucian, it is to be feared the sun and moon will hide themselves, and be as much offended as she was with those,[2] and send another message to Jupiter, by some new-fangled Icaromenippus, to make an end of all those curious controversies, and scatter them abroad.

But why should the sun and moon be angry, or take exceptions at mathematicians and philosophers, whenas the like measure is offered unto God Himself, by a company of theologasters? They are not contented to see the sun and moon, measure their site and biggest distance in a glass, calculate their motions, or visit the moon in a poetical fiction, or a dream, as he saith, *Audax facinus et memorabile nunc incipiam, neque hoc sæculo usurpatum prius, quid in lunæ regno hac nocte gestum sit exponam, et quo nemo unquam nisi somniando pervenit* [I will now adventure a daring and memorable exploit, never before attempted in this age—to set forth what has taken place this night in the kingdom of the moon, in regions to which no one has ever penetrated, save in a dream], but he and Menippus: [3] or as Peter Cuneus,[4] *Bona fide agam, nihil eorum quæ scripturus sum, verum esse scitote, etc.; quæ nec facta, nec futura sunt, dicam, stili tantum et ingenii causa* [5] [I will be honest, and admit that nothing of what I am about to relate is true; I shall relate things which never have happened and never will happen, merely to show my literary skill], not in jest, but in good earnest these gigantical Cyclopes will transcend spheres, heaven, stars, into that empyrean heaven; soar higher yet, and see what God Himself doth. The Jewish Talmudists take upon them to determine how God spends His whole time, sometimes playing with Leviathan, sometimes overseeing the world, etc., like Lucian's Jupiter, that spent much of the year in painting butterflies' wings, and seeing who offered sacrifice; telling the hours when it should rain, how much snow should fall in such a place,

which way the wind should stand in Greece, which way in Africa. In the Turks' Alcoran, Mahomet is taken up to heaven upon a Pegasus sent on purpose for him, as he lay in bed with his wife, and after some conference with God is set on ground again. The pagans paint Him and mangle Him after a thousand fashions; our heretics, schismatics, and some schoolmen, come not far behind: some paint Him in the habit of an old man, and make maps of heaven, number the angels, tell their several names, offices:[1] some deny God and His providence, some take His office out of His hand, will bind and loose in heaven,[2] release, pardon, forgive, and be quartermaster with Him; some call His Godhead in question, His power and attributes, His mercy, justice, providence: they will know with Cæcilius,[3] why good and bad are punished together, war, fires, plagues infest all alike, why wicked men flourish, good are poor, in prison, sick, and ill at ease. Why doth He suffer so much mischief and evil to be done, if He be able to help?[4] why doth He not assist good, or resist bad, reform our wills, if He be not the author of sin, and let such enormities be committed, unworthy of His knowledge, wisdom, government, mercy, and providence? why lets He all things be done by fortune and chance? Others as prodigiously inquire after His omnipotency, *an possit plures similes creare deos? an ex scarabæo deum? etc.; et quo demum ruetis, sacrificuli?* [Can he create many similar gods? A god from a scarab? Whither then will you priests rush to sacrifice?] Some, by visions and revelations, take upon them to be familiar with God, and to be of privy council with Him; they will tell how many, and who, shall be saved, when the world shall come to an end, what year, what month, and whatsoever else God hath reserved unto Himself, and to His angels. Some again, curious phantastics, will know more than this, and inquire with Epicurus, what God did before the world was made? was He idle?[5] Where did He bide? What did He make the world of? Why did He then make it, and not before? If He made it new, or to have an end, how is He unchangeable, infinite, etc. Some will dispute, cavil, and object, as Julian did of old, whom Cyril confutes, as Simon Magus is feigned to do in that dialogue betwixt him and Peter,[6] and Ammonius the philosopher in that dialogical disputation with Zacharias the Christian. If God be infinitely and only good, why should He alter or destroy the world? if He confound that which is good, how shall Himself continue good? If He pull it down because evil, how shall He be free from the evil that made it evil? etc., with many such

absurd and brain-sick questions, intricacies, froth of human wit, and excrements of curiosity, etc., which, as our Saviour told His inquisitive disciples, are not fit for them to know. But hoo! I am now gone quite out of sight, I am almost giddy with roving about: I could have ranged farther yet, but I am an infant, and not able to dive into these profundities or sound these depths,[1] not able to understand, much less to discuss. I leave the contemplation of these things to stronger wits, that have better ability and happier leisure to wade into such philosophical mysteries; for put case I were as able as willing, yet what can one man do? I will conclude with Scaliger,[2] *Nequaquam nos homines sumus, sed partes hominis; ex omnibus aliquid fieri potest, idque non magnum; ex singulis fere nihil* [we are not whole men but parts of men; from all of us together something might be made and that not much; from each of us individually nothing]. Besides (as Nazianzen hath it) *Deus latere nos multa voluit* [God willed that much should remain hidden from us]: and with Seneca, *cap.* 35 *de Cometis, Quid miramur tam rara mundi spectacula non teneri certis legibus, nondum intelligi? Multæ sunt gentes quæ tantum de facie sciunt cælum; veniet tempus fortasse, quo ista quæ nunc latent in lucem diei extrahat longioris ævi diligentia; una ætas non sufficit, posteri, etc.* [Why are we surprised that such unusual phenomena do not obey fixed laws, so far as we understand? There are many peoples who know nothing more of the sky than its appearance. A day will perhaps come when the labours of succeeding ages will reveal things at present obscure; one age is not sufficient, our descendants, etc.]; when God sees His time, He will reveal these mysteries to mortal men, and show that to some few at last, which He hath concealed so long. For I am of his mind,[3] that Columbus did not find out America by chance, but God directed him at that time to discover it: it was contingent to him, but necessary to God; He reveals and conceals to whom and when He will. And which one said [4] of history and records of former times, "God in His providence, to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty, bars us from long antiquity, and bounds our search within the compass of some few ages": many good things are lost which our predecessors made use of, as Pancirolli will better inform you; many new things are daily invented, to the public good; so kingdoms, men, and knowledge ebb and flow, are hid and revealed, and when you have all done, as the Preacher concluded, *Nihil est sub sole novum* [there is nothing new under

the sun]. But my melancholy spaniel's quest, my game, is sprung, and I must suddenly come down and follow.

Jason Pratensis, in his book *de morbis capitis*, and chapter of melancholy, hath these words out of Galen, "Let them come to me to know what meat and drink they shall use, and besides that, I will teach them what temper of ambient air they shall make choice of, what wind, what countries they shall choose, and what avoid."[1] Out of which lines of his thus much we may gather, that to this cure of melancholy, amongst other things, the rectification of air is necessarily required. This is performed either in reforming natural or artificial air. Natural is that which is in our election to choose or avoid: and 'tis either general, to countries, provinces; [or] particular, to cities, towns, villages, or private houses. What harm those extremities of heat or cold do in this malady, I have formerly showed: the medium must needs be good, where the air is temperate, serene, quiet, free from bogs, fens, mists, all manner of putrefaction, contagious and filthy noisome smells. The Egyptians by all geographers[2] are commended to be *hilares*, a conceited and merry nation: which I can ascribe to no other cause than the serenity of their air. They that live in the Orcades are registered by Hector Boethius[3] and Cardan[4] to be fair of complexion, long-lived, most healthful, free from all manner of infirmities of body and mind, by reason of a sharp purifying air, which comes from the sea. The Bœotians in Greece were dull and heavy, *crassi Bœoti*, by reason of a foggy air in which they lived (*Bœotum in crasso jurares aere natum*[5] [you would swear he had been born in the thick air of Boeotia]); Attica most acute, pleasant, and refined. The clime changes not so much customs, manners, wits (as Aristotle, *Polit. lib.* 6, *cap.* 4, Vegetius, Plato, Bodine, *Method. hist. cap.* 5, hath proved at large) as constitutions of their bodies, and temperature itself. In all particular provinces we see it confirmed by experience; as the air is, so are the inhabitants, dull, heavy, witty, subtle, neat, cleanly, clownish, sick, and sound. In Périgord[6] in France the air is subtile, healthful, seldom any plague or contagious disease, but hilly and barren: the men sound, nimble, and lusty; but in some parts of Guienne, full of moors and marshes, the people dull, heavy, and subject to many infirmities. Who sees not a great difference between Surrey, Sussex, and Romney Marsh, the wolds in Lincolnshire and the fens? He therefore that loves his health, if his ability will give him leave, must often shift places, and make choice of such as are wholesome, pleasant,

and convenient: there is nothing better than change of air in this malady, and generally for health to wander up and down, as those *Tartari Zamolhenses*,[1] that live in hordes, and take opportunity of times, places, seasons. The kings of Persia had their summer and winter houses; in winter at Sardis, in summer at Susa; now at Persepolis, then at Pasargada. Cyrus lived seven cold months at Babylon, three at Susa, two at Ecbatana, saith Xenophon,[2] and had by that means a perpetual spring. The Great Turk sojourns sometimes at Constantinople, sometimes at Adrianople, etc. The kings of Spain have their Escurial in heat of summer, Madrid for a wholesome seat,[3] Valladolid a pleasant site, etc., variety of *secessus* [retreats] as all princes and great men have, and their several progresses to this purpose. Lucullus the Roman had his house at Rome, at Baiæ, etc. When Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero (saith Plutarch),[4] and many noblemen in the summer came to see him, at supper Pompeius jested with him, that it was an elegant and pleasant village, full of windows, galleries, and all offices fit for a summer house, but in his judgment very unfit for winter: Lucullus made answer that the lord of the house had wit like a crane, that changeth her country with the season; he had other houses furnished and built for that purpose, all out as commodious as this. So Tully had his Tusculan, Plinius his Lauretan [Larian] village, and every gentleman of any fashion in our times hath the like. The Bishop of Exeter had fourteen several houses all furnished, in times past.[5] In Italy, though they bide in cities in winter, which is more gentlemanlike, all the summer they come abroad to their country-houses, to recreate themselves. Our gentry in England live most part in the country (except it be some few castles), building still in bottoms (saith Jovius[6]) or near woods, *corona arborum virentium* [with a ring of lofty trees]; you shall know a village by a tuft of trees at or about it, to avoid those strong winds wherewith the island is infested, and cold winter blasts. Some discommend moated houses, as unwholesome (so Camden saith of Ewelme[7] that it was therefore unfrequented *ob stagni vicini halitus* [on account of the vapours from the neighbouring pond]), and all such places as be near lakes or rivers. But I am of opinion that these inconveniences will be mitigated, or easily corrected, by good fires, as one[8] reports of Venice, that *graveolentia* [fetidness] and fog of the moors is sufficiently qualified by those innumerable smokes. Nay more, Thomas Philol. Ravennas,[9] a great physician, contends that the Venetians are generally

longer-lived than any city in Europe, and live many of them 120 years. But it is not water simply that so much offends as the slime and noisome smells that accompany such overflowed places, which is but at some few seasons after a flood, and is sufficiently recompensed with sweet smells and aspects in summer—*Ver pinget vario gemmantia prata colore* [Spring paints with varied hues the sparkling mead] and many other commodities of pleasure and profit; or else may be corrected by the site, if it be somewhat remote from the water, as Lindley, Orton *super montem*,[1] Drayton,[2] or a little more elevated, though nearer, as Caucut,[3] Amington,[4] Polesworth,[5] Weddington [6] (to insist in such places best to me known), upon the river of Anker in Warwickshire, Swarston,[7] and Drakesly [8] upon Trent. Or howsoever they be unseasonable in winter, or at some times, they have their good use in summer. If so be that their means be so slender as they may not admit of any such variety, but must determine once for all, and make one house serve each season, I know no men that have given better rules in this behalf than our husbandry writers. Cato [9] and Columella prescribe a good house to stand by a navigable river, good highways, near some city, and in a good soil, but that is more for commodity than health.

The best soil commonly yields the worst air, a dry sandy plat is fittest to build upon, and such as is rather hilly than plain, full of downs, a Cotswold country, as being most commodious for hawking, hunting, wood, waters, and all manner of pleasures. Périgord in France is barren, yet by reason of the excellency of the air, and such pleasures that it affords, much inhabited by the nobility; as Nuremberg in Germany, Toledo in Spain. Our countryman Tusser will tell us so much, that the fieldone is for profit, the woodland for pleasure and health; the one commonly a deep clay, therefore noisome in winter, and subject to bad highways: the other a dry sand. Provision may be had elsewhere, and our towns are generally bigger in the woodland than the fieldone, more frequent and populous, and gentlemen more delight to dwell in such places. Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire (where I was once a grammar scholar) may be a sufficient witness, which stands, as Camden notes, *loco ingrato et sterili* [in a cheerless and barren spot], but in an excellent air, and full of all manner of pleasures. Wadley [10] in Berkshire is situate in a vale, though not so fertile a soil as some vales afford, yet a most commodious site, wholesome, in a delicious air, a rich and pleasant seat. So Segrave in Leicester-

shire (which town I am now bound to remember[1]) is sited in a champaign at the edge of the wolds, and more barren than the villages about it, yet no place likely yields a better air. And he that built that fair house, Wollerton in Nottinghamshire,[2] is much to be commended (though the tract be sandy and barren about it) for making choice of such a place. Constantine, *lib. 2, cap. de agricult.*, praiseth mountains, hilly, steep places, above the rest by the seaside, and such as look toward the north [3] upon some great river, as Farmack in Derbyshire,[4] on the Trent, environed with hills, open only to the north, like Mount Edgemond [5] in Cornwall, which Mr. Carew so much admires for an excellent seat:[6] such is the general site of Bohemia: *serenat Boreas*, the north wind clarifies, but near lakes or marshes, in holes, obscure places, or to the south and west, he utterly disproves; those winds are unwholesome, putrefying, and make men subject to diseases.[7] The best building for health, according to him, is "in high places, and in an excellent prospect," [8] like that of Cuddesdon in Oxfordshire (which place I must *honoris ergo* [out of respect] mention), is lately and fairly built [9] in a good air, good prospect, good soil, both for profit and pleasure, not so easily to be matched. P. Crescentius, in his *lib.* 1 *de agric. cap.* 5, is very copious in this subject, how a house should be wholesomely sited, in a good coast, good air, wind, etc. Varro, *de re rust. lib.* 1, *cap.* 12, forbids lakes and rivers, marish and manured grounds; they cause a bad air, gross diseases, hard to be cured:[10] "if it be so that he cannot help it, better" (as he adviseth) "sell thy house and land than lose thine health."[11] He that respects not this in choosing of his seat or building his house, is *mente captus*, mad, Cato saith "and his dwelling next to hell itself," according to Columella:[12] he commends, in conclusion, the middle of a hill, upon a descent. Baptista Porta, *Villæ, lib.* 1, *cap.* 22, censures Varro, Cato, Columella, and those ancient rustics, approving many things, disallowing some, and will by all means have the front of a house stand to the south, which how it may be good in Italy and hotter climes, I know not, in our northern countries I am sure it is best: Stephanus, a Frenchman, *Prædio rustic. lib.* 1, *cap.* 4, subscribes to this, approving especially the descent of an hill south or south-east, with trees to the north, so that it be well watered; a condition in all sites which must not be omitted, as Herbastein inculcates, *lib.* 1. Julius Cæsar Claudinus, a physician, *consult.* 24, for a nobleman in Poland, melancholy given, adviseth him to dwell in a house inclining to the east,[13]

and by all means to provide the air be clear and sweet;[1] which Montanus, *consil.* 229, counselleth the Earl of Montfort, his patient, to inhabit a pleasant house, and in a good air. If it be so the natural site may not be altered of our city, town, village, yet by artificial means it may be helped. In hot countries, therefore, they make the streets of their cities very narrow, all over Spain, Africa, Italy, Greece, and many cities of France, in Languedoc especially, and Provence, those southern parts: Montpelier, the habitation and university of physicians, is so built, with high houses, narrow streets, to divert the sun's scalding rays, which Tacitus commends, *lib.* 15 *Annal.*, as most agreeing to their health, "because the height of buildings, and narrowness of streets, keep away the sunbeams."[2] Some cities use galleries, or arched cloisters towards the street, as Damascus, Bologna, Padua, Berne in Switzerland, Westchester[3] with us, as well to avoid tempests as the sun's scorching heat. They build on high hills in hot countries for more air; or to the sea-side, as Baiæ, Naples, etc. In our northern coasts we are opposite; we commend straight, broad, open, fair streets, as most befitting and agreeing to our clime. We build in bottoms for warmth; and that site of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea (which Vitruvius so much discommends, magnificently built with fair houses, *sed imprudenter positam*, [but] unadvisedly sited, because it lay along to the south, and when the south wind blew, the people were all sick), would make an excellent site in our northern climes.

Of that artificial site of houses I have sufficiently discoursed: if the seat of the dwelling may not be altered, yet there is much in choice of such a chamber or room, in opportune opening and shutting of windows, excluding foreign air and winds, and walking abroad at convenient times. Crato, a German,[4] commends east and south site (disallowing cold air and northern winds in this case, rainy weather and misty days), free from putrefaction, fens, bogs, and muck-hills. If the air be such, open no windows, come not abroad. Montanus will have his patient not to stir at all, if the wind be big or tempestuous,[5] as most part in March it is with us; or in cloudy, lowering, dark days, as in November, which we commonly call the black month; or stormy, let the wind stand how it will (*consil.* 27), and (30) he must not "open a casement in bad weather,"[6] or in a boisterous season; *consil.* 299, he especially forbids us to open windows to a south wind. The best sites for chamber windows, in my judgment, are north, east, south, and, which is the worst,

west. Levinus Lemnius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 3, *de occult. nat. mir.*, attributes so much to air, and rectifying of wind and windows, that he holds it alone sufficient to make a man sick or well, to alter body and mind. "A clear air cheers up the spirits, exhilarates the mind; a thick, black, misty, tempestuous, contracts, overthrows." [1] Great heed is therefore to be taken at what times we walk, how we place our windows, lights, and houses, how we let in or exclude this ambient air. The Egyptians, to avoid immoderate heat, make their windows on the top of the house like chimneys, with two tunnels to draw a through air. In Spain they commonly make great opposite windows without glass, still shutting those which are next to the sun: so likewise in Turkey and Italy (Venice excepted, which brags of her stately glazed palaces) they use paper windows to like purpose; and lie *sub dio* [under the open sky], in the top of their flat-roofed houses, so sleeping under the canopy of heaven. In some parts of Italy they have windmills, to draw a cooling air out of hollow caves, and disperse the same through all the chambers of their palaces, to refresh them; [2] as at Custozza, the house of Cesareo Trento, a gentleman of Vicenza, and elsewhere. Many excellent means are invented to correct nature by art. If none of these courses help, the best way is to make artificial air, which howsoever is profitable and good, still to be made hot and moist, and to be seasoned with sweet perfumes, pleasant and lightsome as it may be; [3] to have roses, violets, and sweet-smelling flowers ever in their windows, posies in their hand. Laurentius commends water-lilies, a vessel of warm water to evaporate in the room, which will make a more delightsome perfume, if there be added orange-flowers, peels of citrons, rosemary, cloves, bays, rosewater, rose-vinegar, benzoin, ladanum, styrax, and such-like gums, which make a pleasant and acceptable perfume. Bessardus Bisantinus [4] prefers the smoke of juniper to melancholy persons, which is in great request with us at Oxford, to sweeten our chambers. Guianerius [5] prescribes the air to be moistened with water, and sweet herbs boiled in it, vine, and sallow leaves, etc., to besprinkle the ground and posts with rose-water, rose-vinegar,[6] which Avicenna much approves. Of colours it is good to behold green, red, yellow, and white, and by all means to have light enough, with windows in the day, wax candles in the night, neat chambers, good fires in winter, merry companions; for though melancholy persons love to be dark and alone, yet darkness is a great increaser of the humour.

Although our ordinary air be good by nature or art, yet it is not amiss, as I have said, still to alter it; no better physic for a melancholy man than change of air and variety of places, to travel abroad and see fashions. Leo Afer speaks of many of his countrymen so cured, without all other physic: amongst the negroes, "there is such an excellent air, that if any of them be sick elsewhere and brought thither, he is instantly recovered, of which he was often an eye-witness." [1] Lipsius,[2] Zuinger, and some others, add as much of ordinary travel. "No man," saith Lipsius, in an epistle to Phil. Lanoius, a noble friend of his, now ready to make a voyage, "can be such a stock or stone, whom that pleasant speculation of countries, cities, towns, rivers, will not affect." [3] Seneca the philosopher [4] was infinitely taken with the sight of Scipio Africanus' house near Linternum, to view those old buildings, cisterns, baths, tombs, etc. And how was Tully [5] pleased with the sight of Athens, to behold those ancient and fair buildings, with a remembrance of their worthy inhabitants! Paulus Æmilius, that renowned Roman captain, after he had conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, and now made an end of his tedious wars, though he had been long absent from Rome, and much there desired, about the beginning of autumn (as Livy describes it [6]) made a pleasant peregrination all over Greece, accompanied with his son Scipio and Athenæus the brother of King Eumenes, leaving the charge of his army with Sulpicius Gallus. By Thessaly he went to Delphi, thence to Megaris, Aulis, Athens, Argos, Lacedæmon, Megalopolis, etc. He took great content, exceeding delight in that his voyage, as who doth not that shall attempt the like, though his travel be *ad jactationem magis quam ad usum reipub.* (as one [7] well observes), to crack, gaze, see fine sights and fashions, spend time, rather than for his own or public good (as it is to many gallants that travel out their best days, together with their means, manners, honesty, religion)? yet it availeth howsoever. For peregrination charms our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety that some count him unhappy that never travelled,[8] and pity his case that from his cradle to his old age beholds the same still; still, still the same, the same. Insomuch that Rhasis, *Cont. lib.* 1, *tract.* 2, doth not only commend, but enjoin travel, and such variety of objects to a melancholy man, "and to lie in diverse inns, to be drawn into several companies": [9] Montaltus, *cap.* 36, and many neoterics are of the same mind: Celsus adviseth him therefore that will continue his health to have *varium vitæ*

genus, diversity of callings, occupations, to be busied about, "sometimes to live in the city, sometimes in the country; now to study or work, to be intent, then again to hawk or hunt, swim, run, ride, or exercise himself."[1] A good prospect alone will ease melancholy, as Gomesius contends, *lib. 2, cap. 7, de sale.* The citizens of Barcino,[2] saith he, otherwise penned in, melancholy, and stirring little abroad, are much delighted with that pleasant prospect their city hath into the sea, which, like that of old Athens, besides Ægina, Salamis, and many pleasant islands, had all the variety of delicious objects; so are those Neapolitans, and inhabitants of Genoa, to see the ships, boats, and passengers go by, out of their windows, their whole cities being sited on the side of a hill, like Pera by Constantinople, so that each house almost hath a free prospect to the sea, as some part of London to the Thames: or to have a free prospect all over the city at once, as at Granada in Spain and Fez in Africa, the river running betwixt two declining hills, the steepness causeth each house, almost, as well to oversee as to be overseen of the rest. Every country is full of such delightsome prospects,[3] as well within land as by sea, as Hermon and Ramah[4] in Palestine, Collalto in Italy, the top of Taygetus or Acrocorinthus, that old decayed castle in Corinth, from which Peloponnesus, Greece, the Ionian and Ægean Seas were *semel et simul* at one view to be taken. In Egypt the square top of the Great Pyramid, three hundred yards in height, and so the Sultan's palace in Grand Cairo, the country being plain, hath a marvellous fair prospect as well over Nilus as that great city, five Italian miles long, and two broad, by the river-side: from Mount Sion in Jerusalem, the Holy Land is of all sides to be seen: such high places are infinite: with us those of the best note are Glastonbury tower, Box Hill in Surrey, Bever Castle, Rodway Grange, Walsby in Lincolnshire, where I lately received a real kindness by the munificence of the right honourable my noble lady and patroness, the Lady Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter;[5] and two amongst the rest, which I may not omit for vicinity's sake: Oldbury in the confines of Warwickshire, where I have often looked about me with great delight, at the foot of which hill I was born;[6] and Hanbury in Staffordshire, contiguous to which is Falde, a pleasant village, and an ancient patrimony belonging to our family, now in the possession of mine elder brother, William Burton, Esquire. Barclay the Scot[7] commends that of Greenwich tower for one of the best prospects in Europe, to see London on the one side, the Thames, ships, and pleasant

meadows on the other. There be those that say as much and more of St. Mark's steeple in Venice. Yet these are at too great a distance; some are especially affected with such objects as be near, to see passengers go by in some great roadway, or boats in a river, *in subjectum forum despicere*, to oversee a fair, a market-place, or, out of a pleasant window into some thoroughfare street, to behold a continual concourse, a promiscuous rout, coming and going, or a multitude of spectators at a theatre, a mask, or some such-like show. But I rove: the sum is this, that variety of actions, objects, air, places, are excellent good in this infirmity and all others, good for man, good for beast. Constantine the emperor, *lib.* 18, *cap.* 13, *ex Leontio*, holds it an only cure for rotten sheep, and any manner of sick cattle.[1] Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, that great doctor, at the latter end of many of his consultations (as commonly he doth set down what success his physic had), in melancholy most especially approves of this above all other remedies whatsoever, as appears *consult.* 69, *consult.* 229, etc.: "Many other things helped, but change of air was that which wrought the cure, and did most good." [2]

MEMB. IV.

Exercise rectified of Body and Mind

To that great inconvenience which comes on the one side by immoderate and unseasonable exercise, too much solitariness and idleness on the other, must be opposed as an antidote, a moderate and seasonable use of it, and that both of body and mind, as a most material circumstance, much conducing to this cure and to the general preservation of our health. The heavens themselves run continually round, the sun riseth and sets, the moon increaseth and decreaseth, stars and planets keep their constant motions, the air is still tossed by the winds, the waters ebb and flow, to their conservation no doubt, to teach us that we should ever be in action. For which cause Hierome prescribes Rusticus the monk, that he be always occupied about some business or other, "that the devil do not find him idle." [3] Seneca would have a man do something, though it be to no purpose.[4] Xenophon wisheth one rather to play at tables, dice, or make a jester of himself (though he might be far better

employed) than do nothing.[1] The Egyptians of old,[2] and many flourishing commonwealths since, have enjoined labour and exercise to all sorts of men, to be of some vocation and calling, and to give an account of their time, to prevent those grievous mischiefs that come by idleness; "for as fodder, whip, and burthen belong to the ass, so meat, correction, and work unto the servant" (Ecclus. xxx, 24). The Turks enjoin all men whatsoever, of what degree, to be of some trade or other, the Grand Seignior himself is not excused. "In our memory" (saith Sabellicus) "Mahomet the Turk, he that conquered Greece, at that very time when he heard ambassadors of other princes, did either carve or cut wooden spoons, or frame something upon a table." [3] This present Sultan makes notches for bows.[4] The Jews are most severe in this examination of time. All well-governed places, towns, families, and every discreet person will be a law unto himself. But amongst us the badge of gentry is idleness: to be of no calling, not to labour, for that 's derogatory to their birth, to be a mere spectator, a drone, *fruges consumere natus* [born only to consume his food], to have no necessary employment to busy himself about in church and commonwealth (some few governors exempted), "but to rise to eat," etc., to spend his days in hawking, hunting, etc., and such-like disports and recreations (which our casuists tax [5]), are the sole exercise almost, and ordinary actions of our nobility, and in which they are too immoderate. And thence it comes to pass, that in city and country so many grievances of body and mind, and this feral disease of melancholy so frequently rageth, and now domineers almost all over Europe amongst our great ones. They know not how to spend their time (disports excepted, which are all their business), what to do, or otherwise how to bestow themselves: like our modern Frenchmen, that had rather lose a pound of blood in a single combat than a drop of sweat in any honest labour. Every man almost hath something or other to employ himself about, some vocation, some trade, but they do all by ministers and servants, *ad otia duntaxat se natos existimant, immo ad sui ipsius plerumque et aliorum perniciem* [they think themselves born only for idleness—nay, for their own and other people's ruin], as one [6] freely taxeth such kind of men; they are all for pastimes, 'tis all their study; all their invention tends to this alone, to drive away time, as if they were born some of them to no other ends. Therefore to correct and avoid these errors and inconveniences, our divines, physicians, and politicians so much labour, and so

seriously exhort; and for this disease in particular, "there can be no better cure than continual business," as Rhasis holds, "to have some employment or other, which may set their mind awork and distract their cogitations." [1] Riches may not easily be had without labour and industry, nor learning without study, neither can our health be preserved without bodily exercise. If it be of the body, Guianerius allows that exercise which is gentle, "and still after those ordinary fications," [2] which must be used every morning. Montaltus, *cap.* 26, and Jason Pratensis use almost the same words, highly commending exercise if it be moderate; "a wonderful help so used," Crato calls it, "and a great means to preserve our health, as adding strength to the whole body, increasing natural heat, by means of which the nutriment is well concocted in the stomach, liver, and veins, few or no crudities left, is happily distributed over all the body." Besides, it expels excrements by sweat and other insensible vapours; insomuch that Galen [3] prefers exercise before all physic, rectification of diet, or any regiment in what kind soever; 'tis nature's physician. Fulgentius, out of Gordonius, *de conserv. vit. hom. lib.* 1, *cap.* 7, terms exercise "a spur of a dull, sleepy nature, the comforter of the members, cure of infirmity, death of diseases, destruction of all mischiefs and vices." [4] The fittest time for exercise is a little before dinner, a little before supper, or at any time when the body is empty.[5] Montanus, *consil.* 31, prescribes it every morning to his patient, and that, as Calenus adds, "after he hath done his ordinary needs, rubbed his body, washed his hands and face, combed his head and gargarized." [6] What kind of exercise he should use, Galen tells us, *lib. 2 et 3 de sanit. tuend.*, and in what measure, "till the body be ready to sweat," [7] and roused up; *ad ruborem* [till they become flushed], some say, *non ad sudorem* [not till they sweat], lest it should dry the body too much; others enjoin those wholesome businesses, as to dig so long in his garden, to hold the plough, and the like. Some prescribe frequent and violent labour and exercises, as sawing every day so long together (*Epid.* 6, Hippocrates confounds them), but that is in some cases, to some peculiar men; the most forbid,[8] and by no means will have it go farther than a beginning sweat, as being perilous if it exceed.[9]

Of these labours, exercises, and recreations, which are likewise included, some properly belong to the body, some to the mind, some more easy, some hard, some with delight, some without, some within doors, some natural, some are artificial.

Amongst bodily exercises, Galen commends *ludum parvæ pilæ*, to play at ball, be it with the hand or racket, in tennis-courts or otherwise; it exerciseth each part of the body, and doth much good, so that they sweat not too much. It was in great request of old amongst the Greeks, Romans, Barbarians, mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and Plinius. Some write that Aganella, a fair maid of Corcyra, was the inventor of it, for she presented the first ball that ever was made to Nausicaa, the daughter of King Alcinous, and taught her how to use it.

The ordinary sports which are used abroad are hawking, hunting, *hilares venandi labores* [the cheerful toils of the chase], one calls them,[1] because they recreate body and mind; another,[2] "the best exercise that is,[3] by which alone many have been freed from all feral diseases."[4] Hegesippus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 37, relates of Herod, that he was eased of a grievous melancholy by that means. Plato, 7 *de leg.*, highly magnifies it, dividing it into three parts, "by land, water, air." Xenophon, in *Cyropæd.*, graces it with a great name, *deorum munus*, the gift of the gods, a princely sport, which they have ever used, saith Langius, *epist.* 59, *lib.* 2, as well for health as pleasure, and do at this day, it being the sole almost and ordinary sport of our noblemen in Europe, and elsewhere all over the world. Bohemus, *de mor. gent. lib.* 3, *cap.* 12, styles it therefore *studium nobilium; communiter venantur, quod sibi solis licere contendunt* [the occupation of nobles; they are commonly a-hunting, and maintain that they alone have liberty to do this], 'tis all their study, their exercise, ordinary business, all their talk: and indeed some dote too much after it, they can do nothing else, discourse of naught else. Paulus Jovius, *Descr. Brit.*, doth in some sort tax our English nobility for it, for living in the country so much, and too frequent use of it, as if they had no other means but hawking and hunting to approve themselves gentlemen with.[5]

Hawking comes near to hunting, the one in the air, as the other on the earth, a sport as much affected as the other, by some preferred. It was never heard of amongst the Romans, invented some twelve hundred years since, and first mentioned by Firmicus, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 8.[6] The Greek emperors began it, and now nothing so frequent: he is nobody that in the season hath not a hawk on his fist. A great art, and many books written of it.[7] It is a wonder to hear what is related of the Turks' officers in this behalf,[8] how many thousand men are employed about it, how many hawks of all sorts, how much revenues consumed on that only disport, how much time is spent at Adrianople alone

every year to that purpose. The Persian kings hawk after butterflies with sparrows made to that use, and stares: lesser hawks for lesser games they have, and bigger for the rest, that they may produce their sport to all seasons.[1] The Muscovian emperors reclaim eagles to fly at hinds, foxes, etc., and such a one was sent for a present to Queen Elizabeth:[2] some reclaim ravens, castrils, pies, etc., and man them for their pleasures.

Fowling is more troublesome, but all out as delightsome to some sorts of men, be it with guns, lime, nets, glades, gins, strings, baits, pitfalls, pipes, calls, stalking-horses, setting-dogs, decoy-ducks, etc., or otherwise. Some much delight to take larks with day-nets, small birds with chaff-nets, plovers, partridge, herons, snite, etc. Henry the Third, King of Castile (as Mariana the Jesuit reports of him, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 7), was much affected "with catching of quails,"[3] and many gentlemen take a singular pleasure at morning and evening to go abroad with their quail-pipes, and will take any pains to satisfy their delight in that kind. The Italians have gardens fitted to such use, with nets, bushes, glades, sparing no cost or industry, and are very much affected with the sport.[4] Tycho Brahe, that great astronomer, in the Chorography of his Isle of Huena and Castle of Uraniburg, puts down his nets, and manner of catching small birds, as an ornament and a recreation, wherein he himself was sometimes employed.

Fishing is a kind of hunting by water, be it with nets, weels, baits, angling, or otherwise, and yields all out as much pleasure to some men as dogs or hawks, "when they draw their fish upon the bank,"[5] saith Nic. Henselius, *Silesiographiæ, cap.* 3, speaking of that extraordinary delight his countrymen took in fishing and in making of pools. James Dubravius, that Moravian, in his book *de pisc.*, telleth how, travelling by the highway side in Silesia, he found a nobleman, "booted up to the groins,"[6] wading himself, pulling the nets, and labouring as much as any fisherman of them all: and when some belike objected to him the baseness of his office, he excused himself, "that if other men might hunt hares, why should not he hunt carps?"[7] Many gentlemen in like sort with us will wade up to the arm-holes upon such occasions, and voluntarily undertake that, to satisfy their pleasure, which a poor man for a good stipend would scarce be hired to undergo. Plutarch, in his book *de soler. animal.*, speaks against all fishing, "as a filthy, base, illiberal employment, having neither wit nor perspicacity in it, nor worth the

labour."[1] But he that shall consider the variety of baits for all seasons, and pretty devices which our anglers have invented, peculiar lines, false flies, several sleights, etc., will say that it deserves like commendation, requires as much study and perspicacity as the rest, and is to be preferred before many of them. Because hawking and hunting are very laborious, much riding, and many dangers accompany them; but this is still and quiet: and if so be the angler catch no fish, yet he hath a wholesome walk to the brookside, pleasant shade by the sweet silver streams; he hath good air, and sweet smells of fine fresh meadow flowers, he hears the melodious harmony of birds, he sees the swans, herons, ducks, water-hens, coots, etc., and many other fowl, with their brood, which he thinketh better than the noise of hounds, or blast of horns, and all the sport that they can make.

Many other sports and recreations there be, much in use, as ringing, bowling, shooting, which Ascham commends in a just volume, and hath in former times been enjoined by statute as a defensive exercise and an honour to our land,[2] as well may witness our victories in France; keelpins, trunks, quoits, pitching bars, hurling, wrestling, leaping, running, fencing, mustering, swimming, wasters, foils, football, balloon, quintain, etc., and many such, which are the common recreations of the country folks; riding of great horses, running at rings, tilts and tournaments, horse-races, wild-goose chases, which are the disports of greater men, and good in themselves, though many gentlemen by that means gallop quite out of their fortunes.

But the most pleasant of all outward pastimes is that of Aretæus,[3] *deambulatio per amœna loca* [strolling through pleasant scenery], to make a petty progress, a merry journey now and then with some good companions, to visit friends, see cities castles, towns,

> *Visere sæpe amnes nitidos, peramœnaque Tempe,*
> *Et placidas summis sectari in montibus auras:*[4]
>
> To see the pleasant fields, the crystal fountains,
> And take the gentle air amongst the mountains:

to walk amongst orchards, gardens, bowers, mounts, and arbours,[5] artificial wildernesses, green thickets, arches, groves, lawns, rivulets, fountains, and such-like pleasant places, like that Antiochian Daphne, brooks, pools, fishponds, between wood and water, in a fair meadow, by a river-side, *ubi variæ avium*

cantationes, florum colores, pratorum frutices [1] [to enjoy the songs of the birds, the colours of the flowers, the verdure of the meadows], etc., to disport in some pleasant plain, park, run up a steep hill sometimes, or sit in a shady seat, must needs be a delectable recreation. *Hortus principis et domus ad delectationem facta, cum sylva, monte et piscina, vulgo La Montagna:* the prince's garden at Ferrara Schottus [2] highly magnifies, with the groves, mountains, ponds, for a delectable prospect, he was much affected with it; a Persian paradise, or pleasant park, could not be more delectable in his sight. St. Bernard, in the description of his monastery, is almost ravished with the pleasures of it. "A sick man" (saith he) "sits upon a green bank, and when the dog-star parcheth the plains and dries up rivers, he lies in a shady bower," *Fronde sub arborea ferventia temperat astra,* "and feeds his eyes with variety of objects, herbs, trees, to comfort his misery, he receives many delightsome smells, and fills his ears with that sweet and various harmony of birds. Good God" (saith he), "what a company of pleasures hast Thou made for man!" [3] He that should be admitted on a sudden to the sight of such a palace as that of Escurial in Spain, or to that which the Moors built at Granada, Fontainebleau in France, the Turk's gardens in his seraglio, wherein all manner of birds and beasts are kept for pleasure, wolves, bears, lynxes, tigers, lions, elephants, etc., or upon the banks of that Thracian Bosphorus: the Pope's Belvedere in Rome, as pleasing as those *horti pensiles* [hanging gardens] in Babylon,[4] or that Indian king's delightsome garden in Ælian; [5] or those famous gardens of the Lord Cantelow in France, could not choose, though he were never so ill paid, but be much recreated for the time; [6] or many of our nobleman's gardens at home. To take a boat in a pleasant evening, and with music to row upon the waters,[7] which Plutarch so much applauds, Ælian admires, upon the river Peneus, in those Thessalian fields, beset with green bays, where birds so sweetly sing that passengers, enchanted as it were with their heavenly music, *omnium laborum et curarum obliviscantur,* forget forthwith all labours, care, and grief; or in a gondola through the Grand Canal in Venice, to see those goodly palaces, must needs refresh and give content to a melancholy dull spirit. Or to see the inner rooms of a fair-built and sumptuous edifice, as that of the Persian kings so much renowned by Diodorus and Curtius, in which all was almost beaten gold,[8] chairs, stools, thrones, tabernacles, and pillars of gold, plane-trees and vines

of gold, grapes of precious stones, all the other ornaments of pure gold,

> *Fulget gemma toris, et jaspide fulva supellex,*
> *Strata micant Tyrio,*[3]
>
> [The couches flash with jewels, the furniture is ablaze with jasper, the coverlets are of gleaming purple,]

with sweet odours and perfumes, generous wines, opiparous fare, etc., besides the gallantest young men, the fairest virgins,[2] *puellæ scitulæ ministrantes*, the rarest beauties the world could afford, and those set out with costly and curious attires, *ad stuporem usque spectantium* [throwing the spectators into amazement], with exquisite music, as in Trimalchio's house,[3] in every chamber sweet voices ever sounding day and night, *incomparabilis luxus* [unheard-of luxury], all delights and pleasures in each kind which to please the senses could possibly be devised or had, *convivæ coronati, deliciis ebrii* [guests wearing garlands and running riot], etc. Telemachus, in Homer, is brought in as one ravished almost at the sight of that magnificent palace and rich furniture of Menelaus, when he beheld

> *Æris fulgorem et resonantia tecta corusco*
> *Auro, atque electro nitido, sectoque elephanto,*
> *Argentoque simul. Talis Jovis ardua sedes,*
> *Aulaque cœlicolum stellans splendescit Olympo.*[4]
>
> Such glittering of gold and brightest brass to shine,
> Clear amber, silver pure, and ivory so fine:
> Jupiter's lofty palace, where the gods do dwell,
> Was even such a one, and did it not excel.

It will *laxare animos*, refresh the soul of man, to see fair-built cities, streets, theatres, temples, obelisks, etc. The temple of Jerusalem was so fairly built of white marble, with so many pyramids covered with gold; *tectumque templi, fulvo coruscans auro, nimio suo fulgore obcæcabat oculos itinerantium*, [and the roof of the temple] was so glorious, and so glistered afar off, that the spectators might not well abide the sight of it. But the inner parts were all so curiously set out with cedar, gold, jewels, etc., as he said of Cleopatra's palace in Egypt, *Crassumque trabes absconderat aurum*[5] [and solid gold hid the beams], that the beholders were amazed. What so pleasant as to see some pageant or sight go by, as at coronations, weddings, and such-like solemnities, to see an ambassador or a prince met, received, entertained with masks, shows, fireworks, etc. To see two kings fight in single combat, as Porus and Alexander; Canutus

and Edmund Ironside; Scanderbeg and Ferat Bassa the Turk; when not honour alone but life itself is at stake, as the poet [1] of Hector,

Nec enim pro tergore tauri,
Pro bove nec certamen erat, quæ præmia cursus
Esse solent, sed pro magni vitaque animaque
Hectoris.

[For not for any common prize,
For hide of ox or sacrificial steer
The race was run, but for great Hector's life.]

To behold a battle fought, like that of Cressy, or Agincourt, or Poictiers, *qua nescio* (saith Froissart) *an vetustas ullam proferre possit clariorem* [than which I doubt if antiquity can show any more glorious]. To see one of Cæsar's triumphs in old Rome revived, or the like. To be present at an interview,[2] as that famous of Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, so much renowned all over Europe; *ubi tanto apparatu* (saith Hubertus Vellius) *tamque triumphali pompa ambo reges cum eorum conjugibus coiere* [where the two kings, with their wives, met with such state and pomp], *ut nulla unquam ætas tam celebria festa viderit aut audierit*, [that] no age ever saw the like. So infinitely pleasant are such shows, to the sight of which oftentimes they will come hundreds of miles, give any money for a place, and remember many years after with singular delight. Bodine, when he was ambassador in England, said he saw the noblemen go in their robes to the parliament-house, *summa cum jucunditate vidimus*, he was much affected with the sight of it. Pomponius Columna, saith Jovius in his Life, saw thirteen Frenchmen and so many Italians once fight for a whole army: *quod jucundissimum spectaculum in vita dicit sua*, the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life. Who would not have been affected with such a spectacle? Or that single combat of Breauté the Frenchman, and Anthony Schets a Dutchman, before the walls of Sylvaducis [3] in Brabant, *anno* 1600.[4] They were twenty-two horse on the one side, as many on the other, which like Livy's Horatii, Torquati, and Corvini fought for their own glory and country's honour, in the sight and view of their whole city and army. When Julius Cæsar warred about the banks of Rhone,[5] there came a barbarian prince to see him and the Roman army, and when he had beheld Cæsar a good while, "I see the gods now" (saith he) "which before I heard of,[6] *nec feliciorem ullam vitæ meæ aut optavi, aut sensi diem*": it was the happiest day that ever he had in his life. Such a sight alone were able of

itself to drive away melancholy; if not for ever, yet it must needs expel it for a time. Radzivilius was much taken with the bassa's palace in Cairo, and, amongst many other objects which that place afforded, with that solemnity of cutting the banks of Nilus by Imbram Bassa, when it overflowed; besides two or three hundred gilded galleys on the water, he saw two millions of men gathered together on the land, with turbans as white as snow, and 'twas a goodly sight. The very reading of feasts, triumphs, interviews, nuptials, tilts, tournaments, combats, and monomachies is most acceptable and pleasant. Franciscus Modius hath made a large collection of such solemnities in two great tomes,[1] which whoso will may peruse. The inspection alone of those curious iconographies of temples and palaces, as that of the Lateran Church in Albertus Durer, that of the temple of Jerusalem in Josephus,[2] Adricomius, and Villalpandus; that of the Escurial in Guadas, of Diana at Ephesus in Pliny, Nero's golden palace in Rome, Justinian's in Constantinople,[3] that Peruvian Inca's in Cusco, *ut non ab hominibus, sed a dæmoniis constructum videatur*[4] [which seemed to have been constructed not by men but by demons]; St. Mark's in Venice, by Ignatius, with many such; *priscorum artificum opera* (saith that interpreter of Pausanias[5]), the rare workmanship of those ancient Greeks, in theatres, obelisks, temples, statues, gold, silver, ivory, marble images, *non minore ferme quum leguntur, quam quum cernuntur, animum delectatione complent*, affect one as much by reading almost as by sight.

The country hath his recreations, the city his several gymnics and exercises, May-games, feasts, wakes, and merry meetings, to solace themselves; the very being in the country, that life itself is a sufficient recreation to some men, to enjoy such pleasures as those old patriarchs did. Diocletian, the emperor, was so much affected with it that he gave over his sceptre and turned gardener. Constantine wrote twenty books of husbandry. Lysander, when ambassadors came to see him, bragged of nothing more than of his orchard: *Hi sunt ordines mei* [these are my ranks]. What shall I say of Cincinnatus, Cato, Tully, and many such? how they have been pleased with it, to prune, plant, inoculate, and graft, to show so many several kinds of pears, apples, plums, peaches, etc.:

> *Nunc captare feras laqueo, nunc fallere visco,*
> *Atque etiam magnos canibus circundare saltus,*
> *Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres.*[6]

Sometimes with traps deceive, with line and string
To catch wild birds and beasts, encompassing
The grove with dogs, and out of bushes firing.

Et nidos avium scrutari, etc.

[And to go birds'-nesting, etc.]

Jucundus, in his preface to Cato, Varro, Columella, etc., put out by him, confesseth of himself, that he was mightily delighted with these husbandry studies, and took extraordinary pleasure in them: if the theoric or speculation can so much affect, what shall the place and exercise itself, the practic part, do? The same confession I find in Herbastein, Porta, Camerarius, and many others which have written of that subject. If my testimony were aught worth, I could say as much of myself; I am *vere Saturnius* [a true lover of the country]; no man ever took more delight in springs, woods, groves, gardens, walks, fishponds, rivers, etc. But

Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina;

[Tantalus is fain to slake his thirsty need
In streams that ever from his lips recede;]

and so do I; *velle licet, potiri non licet* [I may desire, I may not have].

Every palace, every city almost, hath his peculiar walks, cloisters, terraces, groves, theatres, pageants, games, and several recreations; every country some professed gymnics to exhilarate their minds, and exercise their bodies. The Greeks had their Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean games, in honour of Neptune, Jupiter, Apollo;[1] Athens hers: some for honour, garlands, crowns; for beauty, dancing, running, leaping,[2] like our silver games. The Romans had their feasts,[3] as the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians held their public banquets, *in Prytaneo, Panathenæis, Thesmophoriis, Phiditiis*, plays, naumachies, places for sea-fights, theatres, amphitheatres able to contain 70,000 men, wherein they had several delightsome shows to exhilarate the people;[4] gladiators, combats of men with themselves, with wild beasts, and wild beasts one with another,[5] like our bull-baitings or bear-baitings (in which many countrymen and citizens amongst us so much delight and so frequently use), dancers on ropes, jugglers, wrestlers, comedies, tragedies, publicly exhibited at the emperor's and city's charge, and that with incredible cost and magnificence. In the Low

Countries (as Meteran relates[1]) before these wars, they had many solemn feasts, plays, challenges, artillery gardens, colleges of rhymers, rhetoricians, poets: and to this day such places are curiously maintained in Amsterdam, as appears by that description of Isaacus Pontanus, *Rerum Amstelrod. lib. 2, cap. 25.* So likewise not long since at Freiburg in Germany, as is evident by that relation of Neander,[2] they had *ludos septennales*, solemn plays every seven years, which Bocerus, one of their own poets, hath elegantly described:

> *At nunc magnifico spectacula structa paratu*
> *Quid memorem, vereti non concessura Quirino,*
> *Ludorum pompa*, etc.

> [What shall I say of the magnificence of their shows, not inferior to the games of ancient Rome?]

In Italy thay have solemn declarations of certain select young gentlemen in Florence (like those reciters in old Rome), and public theatres in most of their cities, for stage-players and others, to exercise and recreate themselves. All seasons almost, all places have their several pastimes; some in summer, some in winter; some abroad, some within; some of the body, some of the mind: and diverse men have diverse recreations and exercises. Domitian, the emperor, was much delighted with catching flies, Augustus to play with nuts amongst children; Alexander Severus was often pleased to play with whelps and young pigs;[3] Hadrian was so wholly enamoured with dogs and horses that he bestowed monuments and tombs on them, and buried them in graves.[4] In foul weather, or when they can use no other convenient sports by reason of the time, as we do cock-fighting, to avoid idleness, I think (though some be more seriously taken with it, spend much time, cost and charges, and are too solicitous about it), Severus used partridges and quails,[5] as many Frenchmen do still, and to keep birds in cages, with which he was much pleased when at any time he had leisure from public cares and businesses. He had (saith Lampridius) tame pheasants, ducks, partridges, peacocks, and some 20,000 ring-doves and pigeons. Busbequius, the emperor's orator, when he lay in Constantinople and could not stir much abroad, kept for his recreation, busying himself to see them fed, almost all manner of strange birds and beasts; this was something, though not to exercise his body, yet to refresh his mind. Conradus Gesner, at Zurich in Switzerland, kept so likewise for his pleasure a great company of wild beasts; and

(as he saith) took great delight to see them eat their meat. Turkey gentlewomen, that are perpetual prisoners, still mewed up according to the custom of the place, have little else besides their household business, or to play with their children to drive away time, but to dally with their cats, which they have *in deliciis* [as pets], as many of our ladies and gentlewomen use monkeys and little dogs. The ordinary recreations which we have in winter, and in most solitary times busy our minds with, are cards, tables and dice, shovelboard, chess-play, the philosopher's game, small trunks, shuttlecock, billiards, music, masks, singing, dancing, Yule-games, frolics, jests, riddles, catches, purposes, questions and commands, merry tales [1] of errant knights, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, cheaters, witches, fairies, goblins, friars, etc., such as the old woman told [of] Psyche in Apuleius,[2] Boccace novels, and the rest, *quarum auditione pueri delectantur, senes narratione,* which some delight to hear, some to tell, all are well pleased with. Amaranthus, the philosopher, met Hermocles, Diophantus, and Philolaus, his companions, one day busily discoursing about Epicurus' and Democritus' tenents, very solicitous which was most probable and came nearest to truth: to put them out of that surly controversy, and to refresh their spirits, he told them a pleasant tale of Stratocles the physician's wedding, and of all the particulars, the company, the cheer, the music, etc., for he was new come from it; with which relation they were so much delighted, that Philolaus wished a blessing to his heart, and many a good wedding, many such merry meetings might he be at "to please himself with the sight, and others with the narration of it." [3] News are generally welcome to all our ears, *avide audimus, aures enim hominum novitate lætantur* [we listen greedily, for men's ears are charmed with novelty] (as Pliny observes [4]), we long after rumour to hear and listen to it, *densum humeris bibit aure vulgus* [5] [close packed the crowd drinks in the news]. We are most part too inquisitive and apt to hearken after news, which Cæsar in his Commentaries [6] observes of the old Gauls; they would be inquiring of every carrier and passenger what they had heard or seen, what news abroad?

> *Quid toto fiat in orbe,*
> *Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta noverca*
> *Et pueri, quis amet,* etc.,
>
> [What news in all the world;
> What China does, what Thrace, the love affair
> Of son and stepmother, the latest scandal,]

as at an ordinary with us, bakehouse, or barber's shop. When that great Gonsalvo was upon some displeasure confined by King Ferdinand to the city of Loxa in Andalusia, the only comfort (saith Jovius[1]) he had to ease his melancholy thoughts, was to hear news, and to listen after those ordinary occurrents, which were brought him *cum primis* [among the very first], by letters or otherwise, out of the remotest parts of Europe. Some men's whole delight is to take tobacco, and drink all day long in a tavern or alehouse, to discourse, sing, jest, roar, talk of a cock and bull over a pot, etc. Or when three or four good companions meet, tell old stories by the fireside or in the sun, as old folks usually do, *quæ aprici meminere senes*, remembering afresh and with pleasure ancient matters, and such-like accidents, which happened in their younger years. Others' best pastime is to game, nothing to them so pleasant. *Hic Veneri indulget, hunc decoquit alea*[2] [one spends on women, another ruins himself with gaming]. Many too nicely take exceptions at cards, tables, and dice, and such mixed lusorious lots,[3] whom Gataker well confutes; which, though they be honest recreations in themselves, yet may justly be otherwise excepted at, as they are often abused, and forbidden as things most pernicious; *insanam rem et damnosam* [a mad and ruinous proceeding], Lemnius calls it.[4] "For most part in these kind of disports 'tis not art or skill, but subtlety, cony-catching, knavery, chance and fortune carries all away:" 'tis *ambulatoria pecunia* [money on the move],

Puncto mobilis horæ
Permutat dominos, et cedit in altera jura.

[In one brief hour it changes owners, gets a new master.]

They labour most part not to pass their time in honest disport, but for filthy lucre and covetousness of money. *In fœdissimum lucrum et avaritiam hominum convertitur*, as Danæus observes. *Fons fraudum et maleficiorum*, 'tis the fountain of cozenage and villainy, "a thing so common all over Europe at this day, and so generally abused, that many men are utterly undone by it, their means spent, patrimonies consumed, they and their posterity beggared";[5] besides swearing, wrangling, drinking, loss of time, and such inconveniences, which are ordinary concomitants; "for when once they have got a haunt of such companies, and habit of gaming, they can hardly be drawn from it, but as an itch it will tickle them, and as it is with whoremasters, once entered, they cannot easily leave it off":[6]

vexat mentes insana cupido, they are mad upon their sport. And in conclusion (which Charles the Seventh, that good French king, published in an edict against gamesters), *unde piæ et hilaris vitæ suffugium sibi suisque liberis, totique familiæ*, etc., "that which was once their livelihood, should have maintained wife, children, family, is now spent and gone"; *mæror et egestas*, etc., sorrow and beggary succeeds. So good things may be abused, and that which was first invented to refresh men's weary spirits, when they come from other labours and studies, to exhilarate the mind,[1] to entertain time and company, tedious otherwise in those long solitary winter nights, and keep them from worse matters, an honest exercise, is contrarily perverted.

Chess-play is a good and witty exercise of the mind for some kind of men, and fit for such melancholy, Rhasis holds, as are idle, and have extravagant impertinent thoughts, or troubled with cares, nothing better to distract their mind and alter their meditations; invented (some say) by the general of an army in a famine, to keep soldiers from mutiny; [2] but if it proceed from overmuch study, in such a case it may do more harm than good; it is a game too troublesome for some men's brains, too full of anxiety, all out as bad as study; besides it is a testy, choleric game, and very offensive to him that loseth the mate. William the Conqueror,[3] in his younger years, playing at chess with the Prince of France (Dauphiné was not annexed to that crown in those days), losing a mate, knocked the chess-board about his pate, which was a cause afterward of much enmity between them. For some such reason it is, belike, that Patricius, in his third book, *tit.* 12, *de reg. instit.*, forbids his prince to play at chess; hawking and hunting, riding, etc., he will allow, and this to other men, but by no means to him. In Muscovy, where they live in stoves and hot-houses all winter long, come seldom or little abroad, it is again very necessary, and therefore in those parts (saith Herbastein[4]), much used. At Fez in Africa, where the like inconvenience of keeping within doors is through heat, it is very laudable, and (as Leo Afer relates[5]) as much frequented. A sport fit for idle gentlewomen, soldiers in garrison, and courtiers that have naught but love-matters to busy themselves about, but not altogether so convenient for such as are students. The like I may say of Cl. Bruxer's philosophy game, Dr. Fulke's *Metromachia* and his *Ouranomachia*, with the rest of those intricate astrological and geometrical fictions, for such especially as are mathematically given; and the rest of those curious games.

Dancing, singing, masking, mumming, stage-plays, howsoever they be heavily censured by some severe Catos, yet, if opportunely and soberly used, may justly be approved. *Melius est fodere quam saltare* [it is better to dig than to dance], saith Austin; but what is that if they delight in it? *Nemo saltat sobrius* [1] [no sensible man dances]. But in what kind of dance? I know these sports have many oppugners, whole volumes writ against them; when as all they say (if duly considered) is but *ignoratio elenchi*; and some again, because they are now cold and wayward, past themselves, cavil at all such youthful sports in others, as he did in the comedy; they think them *illico nasci senes* [that they are born old], etc. Some out of preposterous zeal object many times trivial arguments, and because of some abuse will quite take away the good use, as if they should forbid wine because it makes men drunk; but in my judgment they are too stern: "there is a time for all things, a time to mourn, a time to dance" (Eccles. iii, 4), "a time to embrace, a time not to embrace" (verse 5), and "nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works" (verse 22); for my part, I will subscribe to the king's declaration,[2] and was ever of that mind, those May-games, wakes, and Whitsun ales, etc., if they be not at unseasonable hours, may justly be permitted. Let them freely feast, sing and dance, have their poppet-plays, hobby-horses, tabors, crowds, bagpipes, etc., play at ball, and barley-breaks, and what sports and recreations they like best. In Franconia, a province of Germany (saith Aubanus Bohemus [3]), the old folks, after evening prayer, went to the alehouse, the younger sort to dance: and to say truth with Sarisburiensis,[4] *satius fuerat sic otiari quam turpius occupari*, better do so than worse, as without question otherwise (such is the corruption of man's nature) many of them will do. For that cause, plays, masks, jesters, gladiators, tumblers, jugglers, etc., and all that crew is admitted and winked at: *Tota jocularium scena procedit, et ideo spectacula admissa sunt, et infinita tirocinia vanitatum, ut his occupentur, qui perniciosius otiari solent:* [5] that they might be busied about such toys, that would otherwise more perniciously be idle. So that as Tacitus said of the astrologers in Rome,[6] we may say of them, *genus hominum est quod in civitate nostra et vitabitur semper et retinebitur*, they are a deboshed company most part, still spoken against, as well they deserve some of them (for I so relish and distinguish them as fiddlers, and musicians), and yet ever retained. "Evil is not to be done" (I confess) "that good may come of it": but this is evil

per accidens, and in a qualified sense, to avoid a greater inconvenience, may justly be tolerated. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopian commonwealth, as he will have none idle, so will he have no man labour over-hard, to be toiled out like a horse; 'tis more than slavish infelicity, the life of most of our hired servants and tradesmen elsewhere (excepting his Utopians); but half the day allotted for work, and half for honest recreation or whatsoever employment they shall think fit themselves.[1] If one half-day in a week were allowed to our household servants for their merry-meetings by their hard masters, or in a year some feasts, like those Roman Saturnals, I think they would labour harder all the rest of their time, and both parties be better pleased: but this needs not (you will say), for some of them do naught but loiter all the week long.

This which I aim at, is for such as are *fracti animis*, troubled in mind, to ease them: over-toiled on the one part, to refresh; over-idle on the other, to keep themselves busied. And to this purpose, as any labour or employment will serve to the one, any honest recreation will conduce to the other, so that it be moderate and sparing, as the use of meat and drink; not to spend all their life in gaming, playing, and pastimes, as too many gentlemen do; but to revive our bodies and recreate our souls with honest sports: of which as there be divers sorts, and peculiar to several callings, ages, sexes, conditions, so there be proper for several seasons, and those of distinct natures, to fit that variety of humours which is amongst them, that if one will not, another may: some in summer, some in winter, some gentle, some more violent, some for the mind alone, some for the body and mind (as to some it is both business and a pleasant recreation to oversee workmen of all sorts, husbandry, cattle, horse, etc., to build, plot, project, to make models, cast up accounts, etc.); some without, some within doors; new, old, etc., as the season serveth, and as men are inclined. It is reported of Philippus Bonus, that good Duke of Burgundy (by Lodovicus Vives *in Epist.* and Pont. Heuter in his History[2]), that the said duke, at the marriage of Eleonora, sister to the King of Portugal, at Bruges in Flanders, which was solemnized in the deep of winter, whenas by reason of unseasonable weather he could neither hawk nor hunt, and was now tired with cards, dice, etc., and such other domestical sports, or to see ladies dance, with some of his courtiers he would in the evening walk disguised all about the town. It so fortuned, as he was walking late one night, he found a country fellow dead-drunk, snorting on a bulk; he

caused his followers to bring him to his palace, and there stripping him of his old clothes, and attiring him after the court fashion, when he waked, he and they were all ready to attend upon his excellency, persuading him he was some great duke.[1] The poor fellow, admiring how he came there, was served in state all the day long; after supper he saw them dance, heard music, and the rest of those court-like pleasures: but late at night, when he was well tippled, and again fast asleep, they put on his old robes, and so conveyed him to the place where they first found him. Now the fellow had not made them so good sport the day before as he did when he returned to himself; all the jest was to see how he looked upon it.[2] In conclusion, after some little admiration, the poor man told his friends he had seen a vision, constantly believed it, would not otherwise be persuaded, and so the jest ended. Antiochus Epiphanes would often disguise himself, steal from his court, and go into merchants', goldsmiths', and other tradesmen's shops, sit and talk with them, and sometimes ride or walk alone, and fall aboard with any tinker, clown, serving man, carrier, or whomsoever he met first.[3] Sometimes he did *ex insperato* [unexpectedly] give a poor fellow money, to see how he would look, or on set purpose lose his purse as he went, to watch who found it, and withal how he would be affected, and with such objects he was much delighted. Many such tricks are ordinarily put in practice by great men, to exhilarate themselves and others, all which are harmless jests, and have their good uses.

But amongst those exercises or recreations of the mind within doors, there is none so general, so aptly to be applied to all sorts of men, so fit and proper to expel idleness and melancholy, as that of study. *Studia senectutem oblectant, adolescentiam alunt, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium et solatium præbent, domi delectant* [study is the delight of old age, the training of youth, the ornament of prosperity, the refuge and solace of adversity; it entertains us at home], etc., find the rest in Tully, *pro Archia Poeta*. What so full of content, as to read, walk, and see maps, pictures, statues, jewels, marbles, which some so much magnify, as those that Phidias made of old so exquisite and pleasing to be beheld, that, as Chrysostom thinketh, "if any man be sickly, troubled in mind, or that cannot sleep for grief, and shall but stand over against one of Phidias' images, he will forget all care, or whatsoever else may molest him, in an instant"?[4] There be those so much taken with Michael Angelo's, Raphael de Urbino's, Francesco Francia's

pieces, and many of those Italian and Dutch painters, which were excellent in their ages; and esteem of it as a most pleasing sight to view those neat architectures, devices, escutcheons, coats of arms, read such books, to peruse old coins of several sorts in a fair gallery; artificial works, perspective glasses, old relics, Roman antiquities, variety of colours. A good picture is *falsa veritas et muta poesis* [a counterfeit reality, a poem without words]; and though (as Vives saith[1]) *artificialia delectant, sed mox fastidimus*, artificial toys please but for a time, yet who is he that will not be moved with them for the present? When Achilles was tormented and sad for the loss of his dear friend Patroclus, his mother Thetis brought him a most elaborate and curious buckler made by Vulcan, in which were engraven sun, moon, stars, planets, sea, land, men fighting, running, riding, women scolding, hills, dales, towns, castles, brooks, rivers, trees, etc., with many pretty landskips and perspective pieces: with sight of which he was infinitely delighted, and much eased of his grief.

Continuo eo spectaculo captus delenito mœrore
Oblectabatur in manibus tenens dei splendida dona.[2]

Who will not be affected so in like case, or to see those well-furnished cloisters and galleries of the Roman cardinals, so richly stored with all modern pictures, old statues and antiquities? *Cum se Spectando recreet simul atque legendo*, to see their pictures alone and read the description, as Boissardus well adds,[3] whom will it not affect? which Bozius, Pomponius Lætus, Marlianus, Schottus, Cavelerius, Ligorius, etc., and he himself hath well performed of late. Or in some prince's cabinets, like that of the great duke's in Florence, of Felix Platerus in Basil, or noble-men's houses, to see such variety of attires, faces, so many, so rare, and such exquisite pieces, of men, birds, beasts, etc., to see those excellent landskips, Dutch works, and curious cuts of Sadeler of Prague, Albertus Durer, Goltzius, Vrintes, etc., such pleasant pieces of perspective, Indian pictures made of feathers, China works, frames, thaumaturgical motions, exotic toys, etc. Who is he that is now wholly overcome with idleness, or other-wise involved in a labyrinth of worldly cares, troubles, and dis-contents, that will not be much lightened in his mind by reading of some enticing story, true or feigned, where as in a glass he shall observe what our forefathers have done, the beginnings, ruins, falls, periods of commonwealths, private men's actions displayed to the life, etc. Plutarch therefore calls them

secundas mensas et bellaria, the second course and junkets, because they were usually read at noblemen's feasts.[1] Who is not earnestly affected with a passionate speech, well penned, an elegant poem, or some pleasant bewitching discourse, like that of Heliodorus, *ubi oblectatio quædam placide fluit, cum hilaritate conjuncta?*[2] Julian the Apostate was so taken with an oration of Libanius the Sophister, that, as he confesseth, he could not be quiet till he had read it all out. *Legi orationem tuam magna ex parte hesterna die ante prandium, pransus vero sine ulla intermissione totam absolvi. O argumenta! O compositionem!* [I read a great part of your speech yesterday before dinner, and after dinner I finished it without a stop. What arguments! What style!] I may say the same of this or that pleasing tract, which will draw his attention along with it. To most kind of men it is an extraordinary delight to study. For what a world of books offers itself, in all subjects, arts, and sciences, to the sweet content and capacity of the reader! In arithmetic, geometry, perspective, optics, astronomy, architecture, *sculptura*, *pictura* [sculpture, painting], of which so many and such elaborate treatises are of late written; in mechanics and their mysteries, military matters, navigation, riding of horses,[3] fencing,[4] swimming, gardening, planting, great tomes of husbandry, cookery, falconry, hunting, fishing, fowling, etc., with exquisite pictures of all sports, games, and what not? In music, metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, philology, in policy, heraldry, genealogy, chronology, etc., they afford great tomes; or those studies of antiquity,[5] etc.; *et quid subtilius arithmeticis inventionibus, quid jucundius musicis rationibus, quid divinius astronomicis, quid rectius geometricis demonstrationibus?*[6] [and what could be more ingenious than the devices of arithmetic, more pleasing than the theories of music, more elevating than the discoveries of astronomy, more convincing than the proofs of geometry?] What so sure, what so pleasant? He that shall but see that geometrical tower of Garisenda at Bologna in Italy, the steeple and clock at Strasburg, will admire the effects of art, or that engine of Archimedes, to remove the earth itself, if he had but a place to fasten his instrument Archimedes' *cochlea* [water-screw], and rare devices to corrivat. waters, music instruments, and trisyllable echoes again, again and again repeated, with myriads of such. What vast tomes are extant in law, physic, and divinity, for profit, pleasure, practice, speculation, in verse or prose, etc.! Their names alone are the subject of whole volumes, we have thousands of authors

of all sorts, many great libraries full well furnished, like so many dishes of meat served out for several palates; and he is a very block that is affected with none of them. Some take an infinite delight to study the very languages wherein these books are written, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, etc. Methinks it would please any man to look upon a geographical map, *suavi animum delectatione allicere, ob incredibilem rerum varietatem et jucunditatem, et ad pleniorem sui cognitionem excitare* [1] [which insensibly charms the mind with the great and pleasing variety of objects that it offers, and incites it to further study], chorographical, topographical delineations, to behold, as it were, all the remote provinces, towns, cities of the world, and never to go forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the scale and compass their extent, distance, examine their site. Charles the Great, as Platina writes, had three fair silver tables, in one of which superficies was a large map of Constantinople, in the second Rome neatly engraved, in the third an exquisite description of the whole world, and much delight he took in them. What greater pleasure can there now be, than to view those elaborate maps of Ortelius, Mercator,[2] Hondius, etc.? To peruse those books of cities, put out by Braunus and Hogenbergius? To read those exquisite descriptions of Maginus, Munster, Herrera, Laet, Merula, Boterus, Leander, Albertus, Camden, Leo Afer, Adricomius, Nic. Gerbelius, etc.? Those famous expeditions of Christoph. Columbus, Americus Vespuccius, Marcus Polus the Venetian, Lod. Vertomannus, Aloysius Cadamustus, etc.? Those accurate diaries of Portugals, Hollanders, of Bartison, Oliver à Nort, etc., Hakluyt's Voyages, Pet. Martyr's Decades, Benzo, Lerius, Linschoten's Relations, those Hodœporicons of Joh. à Meggen, Brocard the monk, Bredenbachius, Jo. Dublinius, Sandys, etc., to Jerusalem, Egypt, and other remote places of the world? those pleasant itineraries of Paulus Hentznerus, Jodocus Sincerus, Dux Polonus,[3] etc., to read Bellonius' Observations, P. Gillius his Surveys; those parts of America, set out, and curiously cut in pictures, by Fratres à Bry. To see a well-cut herbal, herbs, trees, flowers, plants, all vegetals expressed in their proper colours to the life, as that of Matthiolus upon Dioscorides, Delacampius, Lobel, Bauhinus, and that last voluminous and mighty herbal of Besler of Nuremburg, wherein almost every plant is to his own bigness. To see birds, beasts, and fishes of the sea, spiders, gnats, serpents, flies, etc., all creatures set out by the same art, and truly expressed in lively colours, with an exact

description of their natures, virtues, qualities, etc., as hath been accurately performed by Ælian, Gesner, Ulysses Aldrovandus, Bellonius, Rondeletius, Hippolytus Salvianus, etc. *Arcana cœli, naturæ secreta, ordinem universi scire, majoris felicitatis et dulcedinis est, quam cogitatione quis assequi possit, aut mortalis sperare*[1] [to discover the mysteries of the heavens, the secrets of nature, and the order of the universe, would confer greater happiness and pleasure than can be imagined, or than any mortal could hope to attain]. What more pleasing studies can there be than the mathematics, theoric or practic parts? as to survey land, make maps, models, dials, etc., with which I was ever much delighted myself. *Talis est mathematum pulchritudo* (saith Plutarch[2]), *ut his indignum sit divitiarum phaleras istas et bullas et puellaria spectacula comparari;* such is the excellency of these studies, that all those ornaments and childish bubbles of wealth are not worthy to be compared to them; *Crede mihi* (saith one[3]), *extingui dulce erit mathematicarum artium studio*, I could even live and die with such meditations, and take more delight, true content of mind in them, than thou hast in all thy wealth and sport, how rich soever thou art.[4] And as Cardan well seconds me,[5] *Honorificum magis est et gloriosum hæc intelligere, quam provinciis præesse, formosum aut ditem juvenem esse* [it is more honourable and glorious to understand these things than to rule over provinces or be young, handsome, and rich]. The like pleasure there is in all other studies, to such as are truly addicted to them. *Ea suavitas* (one holds[6]) *ut cum quis ea degustaverit, quasi poculis Circeis captus, non possit unquam ab illis divelli:* the like sweetness, which as Circe's cup bewitcheth a student, he cannot leave off, as well may witness those many laborious hours, days, and nights, spent in the voluminous treatises written by them; the same content. Julius Scaliger[7] was so much affected with poetry that he brake out into a pathetical protestation, he had rather be the author of twelve verses in Lucan, or such an ode in Horace,[8] than emperor of Germany. Nicholas Gerbelius,[9] that good old man, was so much ravished with a few Greek authors restored to light, with hope and desire of enjoying the rest, that he exclaims forthwith, *Arabibus atque Indis omnibus erimus ditiores*, we shall be richer than all the Arabic or Indian princes; of such esteem they were with him, incomparable worth and value.[10] Seneca prefers Zeno and Chrysippus, two doting Stoics (he was so much enamoured of their works), before any prince or general of an army; and Orontius the mathematician

so far admires Archimedes, that he calls him *divinum et homine majorem*, a petty god, more than a man; and well he might, for aught I see, if you respect fame or worth. Pindarus of Thebes is as much renowned for his poems as Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Hercules, or Bacchus, his fellow-citizens, for their warlike actions; *et si famam respicias, non pauciores Aristotelis quam Alexandri meminerunt* (as Cardan notes), Aristotle is more known than Alexander; for we have a bare relation of Alexander's deeds, but Aristotle *totus vivit in monumentis*, is whole in his works: yet I stand not upon this; the delight is it which I aim at; so great pleasure, such sweet content there is in study. King James, 1605,[1] when he came to see our University of Oxford, and amongst other edifices now went to view that famous library, renewed by Sir Thomas Bodley, in imitation of Alexander, at his departure brake out into that noble speech: "If I were not a king, I would be a university man: and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish. I would desire to have no other prison than that library, and to be chained together with so many good authors *et mortuis magistris* [deceased teachers]." [2] So sweet is the delight of study, the more learning they have (as he that hath a dropsy, the more he drinks the thirstier he is), the more they covet to learn, and the last day is *prioris discipulus* [the disciple of the preceding]; harsh at first learning is, *radices amaræ* [the roots are bitter], but *fructus dulces* [the fruit is sweet], according to that of Isocrates, pleasant at last; the longer they live, the more they are enamoured with the Muses. Heinsius, the keeper of the library at Leyden in Holland, was mewed up in it all the year long; and that which to thy thinking should have bred a loathing, caused in him a greater liking. "I no sooner" (saith he) "come into the library, but I bolt the door to me, excluding lust, ambition, avarice, and all such vices, whose nurse is idleness, the mother of ignorance, and melancholy herself, and in the very lap of eternity, amongst so many divine souls, I take my seat, with so lofty a spirit and sweet content that I pity all our great ones and rich men that know not this happiness." [3] I am not ignorant in the meantime (notwithstanding this which I have said) how barbarously and basely, for the most part, our ruder gentry esteem of libraries and books, how they neglect and contemn so great a treasure, so inestimable a benefit, as Æsop's cock did the jewel he found in the dunghill; and all through error, ignorance, and want of education. And 'tis a wonder withal to observe how much

they will vainly cast away in unnecessary expenses, *quot modis pereant* (saith Erasmus [1]) *magnatibus pecuniæ, quantum absumant alea, scorta, compotationes, profectiones non necessariæ, pompæ, bella quæsita, ambitio, colax, morio, ludio,* etc., what in hawks, hounds, lawsuits, vain building, gormandizing, drinking, sports, plays, pastimes, etc. If a well-minded man to the Muses would sue to some of them for an exhibition, to the farther maintenance or enlargement of such a work, be it college, lecture, library, or whatsoever else may tend to the advancement of learning, they are so unwilling, so averse, they had rather see these which are already with such cost and care erected, utterly ruined, demolished, or otherwise employed; for they repine many and grudge at such gifts and revenues so bestowed: and therefore it were in vain, as Erasmus well notes, *vel ab his, vel a negotiatoribus qui se Mammonæ dediderunt, improbum fortasse tale officium exigere,* to solicit or ask anything of such men that are likely damned to riches, to this purpose. For my part I pity these men, *stultos jubeo esse libenter,* let them go as they are, in the catalogue of ignoramus[es]. How much, on the other side, are all we bound that are scholars, to those munificent Ptolemies, bountiful Mæcenases, heroical patrons, divine spirits, *qui nobis hæc otia fecerunt* [who gave us all this comfort],

Namque erit ille mihi semper deus, [2]

[For never can I deem him less than god,]

that have provided for us so many well-furnished libraries, as well in our public academies in most cities, as in our private colleges! How shall I remember Sir Thomas Bodley,[3] amongst the rest, Otho Nicholson,[4] and the Right Reverend John Williams, Lord Bishop of Lincoln (with many other pious acts), who besides that at St. John's College in Cambridge, that in Westminster, is now likewise *in fieri* [proceeding] with a library at Lincoln (a noble precedent for all corporate towns and cities to imitate), *O quam te memorem (vir illustrissime), quibus elogiis?* [How shall I speak of thee, most illustrious man, how praise thee worthily?] But to my task again.

Whosoever he is, therefore, that is overrun with solitariness, or carried away with pleasing melancholy and vain conceits, and for want of employment knows not how to spend his time, or crucified with worldly care, I can prescribe him no better remedy than this of study, to compose himself to the learning of some art or science. Provided always that his malady proceed not from overmuch study; for in such case he adds fuel

to the fire, and nothing can be more pernicious; let him take heed he do not overstretch his wits, and make a skeleton of himself; or such inamoratoes as read nothing but play-books, idle poems, jests, Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sun, the Seven Champions, Palmerin de Oliva, Huon of Bordeaux, etc. Such many times prove in the end as mad as Don Quixote. Study is only prescribed to those that are otherwise idle, troubled in mind, or carried headlong with vain thoughts and imaginations, to distract their cogitations (although variety of study, or some serious subject, would do the former no harm), and divert their continual meditations another way. Nothing in this case better than study; *semper aliquid memoriter ediscant*, saith Piso, let them learn something without book, transcribe, translate, etc., read the Scriptures, which Hyperius, *lib.* 1 *de quotid. script. lec. fol.* 77, holds available of itself; "the mind is erected thereby from all worldly cares, and hath much quiet and tranquillity."[1] For, as Austin[2] well hath it, 'tis *scientia scientiarum, omni melle dulcior, omni pane suavior, omni vino hilarior* [the all-embracing knowledge, sweeter than honey, more gladdening than wine]; 'tis the best nepenthes, surest cordial, sweetest alterative, presentest diverter: for neither, as Chrysostom well adds,[3] "those boughs and leaves of trees which are plashed for cattle to stand under, in the heat of the day, in summer, so much refresh them with their acceptable shade, as the reading of the Scripture doth recreate and comfort a distressed soul, in sorrow and affliction." Paul bids "pray continually"; *quod cibus corpori, lectio animæ facit*, saith Seneca, as meat is to the body, such is reading to the soul. "To be at leisure without books is another hell, and to be buried alive."[4] Cardan[5] calls a library the physic of the soul; "divine authors fortify the mind, make men bold and constant; and" (as Hyperius adds) "godly conference will not permit the mind to be tortured with absurd cogitations."[6] Rhasis enjoins continual conference to such melancholy men, perpetual discourse of some history, tale, poem, news, etc., *alternos sermones edere ac bibere, æque jucundum quam cibus, sive potus*, which feeds the mind as meat and drink doth the body, and pleaseth as much: and therefore the said Rhasis, not without good cause, would have somebody still talk seriously, or dispute with them, and sometimes "to cavil and wrangle" (so that it break not out to a violent perturbation), "for such altercation is like stirring of a dead fire to make it burn afresh," it whets a dull spirit, "and will not suffer the mind to be drowned in those profound

cogitations which melancholy men are commonly troubled with." [1] Ferdinand and Alphonsus, kings of Aragon and Sicily, were both cured by reading the history, one of Curtius, the other of Livy, when no prescribed physic would take place.[2] Camerarius [3] relates as much of Laurence Medices.[4] Heathen philosophers are so full of divine precepts in this kind, that, as some think, they alone are able to settle a distressed mind—*Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem* [5] [words there are, and discourse, with which to assuage this grief], etc.—Epictetus, Plutarch, and Seneca. *Qualis ille, quæ tela*, saith Lipsius, *adversus omnes animi casus administrat, et ipsam mortem, quomodo vitia eripit, infert virtutes!* [What a man was he! What weapons doth he furnish against all sufferings of the mind, against the fear of death itself! How he eradicates vice and implants virtue!] When I read Seneca, "methinks I am beyond all human fortunes, on the top of a hill above mortality." [6] Plutarch saith as much of Homer, for which cause belike Niceratus, in Xenophon, was made by his parents to con Homer's Iliads and Odysseys without book, *ut in virum bonum evaderet*, as well to make him a good and honest man as to avoid idleness. If this comfort may be got from philosophy, what shall be had from divinity? What shall Austin, Cyprian, Gregory, Bernard's divine meditations afford us?

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicunt.

[Who can indicate
What we should praise or blame, choose or reject,
More fully and with judgment more correct
Than Crantor and Chrysippus.]

Nay, what shall the Scripture itself?—which is like an apothecary's shop, wherein are all remedies for all infirmities of mind, purgatives, cordials, alteratives, corroboratives, lenitives, etc. "Every disease of the soul," saith Austin,[7] "hath a peculiar medicine in the Scripture; this only is required, that the sick man take the potion which God hath already tempered." Gregory [8] calls it "a glass wherein we may see all our infirmities," *ignitum colloquium* [a fiery discourse] (Ps. cxix, 140); Origen,[9] a charm. And therefore Hierome prescribes Rusticus the monk, "continually to read the Scripture, and to meditate on that which he hath read; for as mastication is to meat, so is meditation on that which we read." [10] I would for these causes wish him that is melancholy to use both human and divine authors,

voluntarily to impose some task upon himself, to divert his melancholy thoughts: to study the art of memory, Cosmus Rosselius, Pet. Ravennas, *Scenkelius detectus*, or practise brachygraphy, etc., that will ask a great deal of attention: or let him demonstrate a proposition in Euclid, in his five last books, extract a square root, or study algebra: than which, as Clavius [1] holds, "in all human disciplines nothing can be more excellent and pleasant, so abstruse and recondite, so bewitching, so miraculous, so ravishing, so easy withal and full of delight," *omnem humanum captum superare videtur*. By this means you may define *ex ungue leonem*, as the diverb is, by his thumb alone the bigness of Hercules, or the true dimensions of the great Colossus,[2] Solomon's temple, and Domitian's amphitheatre out of a little part. By this art you may contemplate the variation of the twenty-three letters, which may be so infinitely varied, that the words complicated and deduced thence will not be contained within the compass of the firmament; ten words may be varied 40,320 several ways: by this art you may examine how many men may stand one by another in the whole superficies of the earth, some say 148,456,800,000,000, *assignando singulis passum quadratum* [assigning a square foot to each]; how many men, supposing all the world as habitable as France, as fruitful and so long-lived, may be born in 60,000 years; and so may you demonstrate with Archimedes [3] how many sands the mass of the whole world might contain if all sandy, if you did but first know how much a small cube as big as a mustard-seed might hold; with infinite such. But in all nature what is there so stupend as to examine and calculate the motion of the planets, their magnitudes, apogeums, perigeums, eccentricities, how far distant from the earth, the bigness, thickness, compass of the firmament, each star, with their diameters and circumference, apparent area, superficies, by those curious helps of glasses, astrolabes, sextants, quadrants, of which Tycho Brahe in his Mechanics, optics (divine optics [4]), arithmetic, geometry, and such-like arts and instruments? What so intricate and pleasing withal, as to peruse and practise Hero Alexandrinus' works, *de spiritalibus, de machinis bellicis, de machina se movente* [about pneumatic machines, about military engines, about a self-moving machine], *Jordani Nemorarii de ponderibus proposit.* 13, that pleasant tract of Machometes Bragdedinus *de superficierum divisionibus* [of the divisions of plane surfaces], Apollonius' Conics, or Commandinus' labours in that kind, *de centro gravitatis*, with many such

geometrical theorems and problems? Those rare instruments and mechanical inventions of Jac. Bessonus and Cardan to this purpose, with many such experiments intimated long since by Roger Bacon, in his tract *de secretis artis et naturæ*[1] [of the secrets of nature and art], as to make a chariot to move *sine animali* [without animal traction], diving-boats, to walk on the water by art and to fly in the air, to make several cranes and pulleys, *quibus homo trahat ad se mille homines* [by which one man can draw to himself a thousand], lift up and remove great weights, mills to move themselves, Archytas' dove, Albertus' brazen head, and such thaumaturgical works. But especially to do strange miracles by glasses, of which Proclus and Bacon writ of old, burning-glasses, multiplying glasses, perspectives, *ut unus homo appareat exercitus* [which make one man look like an army], to see afar off, to represent solid bodies by cylinders and concaves, to walk in the air, *ut veraciter videant* (saith Bacon) *aurum et argentum et quicquid aliud volunt, et quum veniant ad locum visionis, nihil inveniant* [so that they are positive they see gold and silver and whatever else they want, yet when they come to the spot they see nothing], which glasses are much perfected of late by Baptista Porta and Galileo, and much more is promised by Maginus and Midorgius, to be performed in this kind. Otacousticons some speak of, to intend hearing, as the other do sight; Marcellus Vrencken, an Hollander, in his epistle to Burgravius, makes mention of a friend of his that is about an instrument, *quo videbit quæ in altero horizonte sint* [by which he will see things beyond the horizon]. But our alchemists, methinks, and Rosy-cross men,[2] afford most rarities, and are fuller of experiments: they can make gold, separate and alter metals, extract oils, salts, lees, and do more strange works than Geber, Lullius, Bacon, or any of those ancients. Crollius hath made, after his master Paracelsus, *aurum fulminans*, or *aurum volatile* [explosive or volatile gold], which shall imitate thunder and lightning, and crack louder than any gunpowder; Cornelius Drible a perpetual motion, inextinguible lights, *linum non ardens* [non-inflammable flax], with many such feats (see his book *de natura elementorum*), besides hail, wind, snow, thunder, lightning, etc., those strange fireworks, devilish petards, and such-like warlike machinations derived hence, of which read Tartalea and others. Ernestus Burgravius, a disciple of Paracelsus, hath published a discourse, in which he specifies a lamp to be made of man's blood, *lucerna vitæ et mortis index* [a lamp which shall be an index of life and death], so he terms it, which

chemically prepared forty days, and afterwards kept in a glass, shall show all the accidents of this life; *si lampas hic clarus, tunc homo hilaris et sanus corpore et animo; si nebulosus et depressus, male afficitur, et sic pro statu hominis variatur, unde sumptus sanguis* [if the lamp burns clearly, then the man is cheerful and healthy in mind and body; if dim and cloudy, he is in low spirits; and so it varies with the condition of the man whose blood has been taken]; and, which is most wonderful, it dies with the party, *cum homine perit, et evanescit*, the lamp and the man whence the blood was taken are extinguished together. The same author hath another tract of *Mummia* (all out as vain and prodigious as the first), by which he will cure most diseases, and transfer them from a man to a beast, by drawing blood from one and applying it to the other, *vel in plantam derivare* [or even divert it to a plant], and an *alexipharmacum*, of which Roger Bacon of old in his *tract. de retardanda senectuie*, to make a man young again, live three or four hundred years; besides panaceas, martial amulets, *unguentum armarium* [the weapon-salve], balsams, strange extracts, elixirs, and such-like magico-magnetical cures. Now what so pleasing can there be as the speculation of these things, to read and examine such experiments, or, if a man be more mathematically given, to calculate, or peruse Napier's Logarithms, or those tables of artificial sines and tangents,[1] not long since set out by mine old collegiate, good friend, and late fellow-student of Christ Church in Oxford, Mr. Edmund Gunter,[2] which will perform that by addition and subtraction only, which heretofore Regiomontanus' tables did by multiplication and division, or those elaborate conclusions of his Sector, Quadrant, and Cross-staff.[3] Or let him that is melancholy calculate spherical triangles, square a circle, cast a nativity, which, howsoever some tax, I say with Garcæus,[4] *dabimus hoc petulantibus ingeniis* [we will concede to wayward minds], we will in some cases allow: or let him make an ephemerides, read Suisset the calculator's works, Scaliger *de emendatione temporum*, and Petavius his adversary, till he understand them, peruse subtle Scotus' and Suarez' metaphysics, or school divinity, Occam, Thomas, Entisberus, Durand, etc. If those other do not affect him, and his means be great, to employ his purse and fill his head, he may go find the philosopher's stone; he may apply his mind, I say, to heraldry, antiquity, invent impresses, emblems; make epithalamiums, epitaphs, elegies, epigrams, *palindroma epigrammata*,[5] anagrams, chronograms, acrostics upon his friends' names; or write a

comment on Martianus Capella, Tertullian *de pallio*, the Nubian geography, or upon *Ælia Lælia Crispis*,[1] as many idle fellows have essayed; and rather than do nothing, vary a verse a thousand ways with Putean,[2] so torturing his wits, or as Rainnerus of Luneberg, 2,150 times in his *Proteus Poeticus*,[3] or Scaliger, Chrysolithus, Cleppisius, and others, have in like sort done. If such voluntary tasks, pleasure and delight, or crabbedness of these studies, will not yet divert their idle thoughts and alienate their imaginations, they must be compelled, saith Christophorus à Vega, *cogi debent* (*lib.* 5, *cap.* 14), upon some mulct if they perform it not, *quod ex officio incumbat* [which is incumbent on them in virtue of their office], loss of credit or disgrace, such as our public university exercises. For, as he that plays for nothing will not heed his game, no more will voluntary employment so throughly affect a student, except he be very intent of himself, and take an extraordinary delight in the study about which he is conversant. It should be of that nature his business, which *volens nolens* he must necessarily undergo, and without great loss, mulct, shame, or hindrance, he may not omit.

Now for women, instead of laborious studies, they have curious needleworks, cut-works, spinning, bone-lace, and many pretty devices of their own making, to adorn their houses, cushions, carpets, chairs, stools ("for she eats not the bread of idleness," Prov. xxxi, 27, *quæsivit lanam et linum* [she hath sought out wool and flax]) confections, conserves, distillations, etc., which they show to strangers.

> *Ipsa comes præsesque operis venientibus ultro*
> *Hospitibus monstrare solet, non segniter horas*
> *Contestata suas, sed nec sibi deperiisse.*[4]
>
> Which to her guests she shows, with all her pelf,
> Thus far my maids, but this I did myself.

This they have to busy themselves about, household offices, etc., neat gardens,[5] full of exotic, versicolour, diversely varied, sweet-smelling flowers, and plants in all kinds, which they are most ambitious to get, curious to preserve and keep, proud to possess, and much many times brag of. Their merry meetings and frequent visitations, mutual invitations in good towns, I voluntarily omit, which are so much in use, gossiping among the meaner sort, etc. Old folks have their beads: an excellent invention to keep them from idleness that are by nature melancholy and past all affairs, to say so many paternosters, Ave

Maries, creeds, if it were not profane and superstitious. In a word, body and mind must be exercised, not one, but both, and that in a mediocrity; otherwise it will cause a great inconvenience. If the body be overtired, it tires the mind. The mind oppresseth the body, as with students it oftentimes falls out, who (as Plutarch observes[1]) have no care of the body, "but compel that which is mortal to do as much as that which is immortal: that which is earthly, as that which is ethereal. But as the ox, tired, told the camel (both serving one master) that refused to carry some part of his burden, before it were long he should be compelled to carry all his pack, and skin to boot (which by and by, the ox being dead, fell out), the body may say to the soul that will give him no respite or remission: a little after, an ague, vertigo, consumption, seizeth on them both, all his study is omitted, and they must be compelled to be sick together." He that tenders his own good estate and health must let them draw with equal yoke, both alike, "that so they may happily enjoy their wished health."[2]

MEMB. V.

Waking and terrible Dreams rectified

As waking, that hurts, by all means must be avoided, so sleep, which so much helps, by like ways "must be procured, by nature or art, inward or outward medicines, and be protracted longer than ordinary, if it may be, as being an especial help."[3] It moistens and fattens the body, concocts, and helps digestion, as we see in dormice, and those Alpine mice that sleep all winter, which Gesner speaks of, when they are so found sleeping under the snow in the dead of winter, as fat as butter. It expels cares, pacifies the mind, refresheth the weary limbs after long work:

> *Somne quies rerum, placidissime somne deorum,*
> *Pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corpora duris*
> *Fessa ministeriis mulces reparasque labori.*[4]
>
> Sleep, rest of things, O pleasing deity,
> Peace of the soul, which cares dost crucify,
> Weary bodies refresh and mollify.

The chiefest thing in all physic, Paracelsus[5] calls it, *omnia arcana gemmarum superans et metallorum* [better than all the

secret powers of precious stones and metals]. The fittest time is "two or three hours after supper, whenas the meat is now settled at the bottom of the stomach, and 'tis good to lie on the right side first, because at that site the liver doth rest under the stomach, not molesting any way, but heating him as a fire doth a kettle that is put to it. After the first sleep 'tis not amiss to lie on the left side, that the meat may the better descend";[1] and sometimes again on the belly, but never on the back. Seven or eight hours is a competent time for a melancholy man to rest, as Crato thinks; but as some do, to lie in bed and not sleep, a day, or half a day together, to give assent to pleasing conceits and vain imagination, is many ways pernicious. To procure this sweet moistening sleep, it 's best to take away the occasions (if it be possible) that hinder it, and then to use such inward or outward remedies which may cause it. *Constat hodie* (saith Boissardus in his tract *de magia, cap.* 4) *multos ita fascinari ut noctes integras exigant insomnes, summa inquietudine animorum et corporum;* many cannot sleep for witches and fascinations, which are too familiar in some places; they call it, *dare alicui malam noctem* [giving a person a bad night]. But the ordinary causes are heat and dryness, which must first be removed; a hot and dry brain never sleeps well;[2] grief, fears, cares, expectations, anxieties, great businesses, *in aurem utramque otiose ut dormias*[3] [that you may slumber peacefully on either ear], and all violent perturbations of the mind, must in some sort be qualified, before we can hope for any good repose. He that sleeps in the day-time, or is in suspense, fear, anyway troubled in mind, or goes to bed upon a full stomach,[4] may never hope for quiet rest in the night; *nec enim meritoria somnos admittunt*, as the poet saith;[5] inns and such-like troublesome places are not for sleep; one calls "Ostler!" another, "Tapster!" one cries and shouts, another sings, whoops, halloos:

Absentem cantat amicam,
Multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator.[6]

[Well moistened with cheap wine, the sailor and the wayfarer sing of their absent sweethearts.]

Who not accustomed to such noises can sleep amongst them? He that will intend to take his rest must go to bed *animo securo, quieto et libero*, with a secure and composed mind,[7] in a quiet place: *omnia noctis erunt placida composta quiete* [at night all will be hushed in calm tranquillity]: and if that will not serve, or may not be obtained, to seek then such means as are requisite.

To lie in clean linen and sweet; before he goes to bed, or in bed, to hear "sweet music," [1] which Ficinus commends, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 24, or, as Jobertus, *Med. pract. lib.* 3, *cap.* 10, "to read some pleasant author till he be asleep, to have a basin of water still dropping by his bedside," [2] or to lie near that pleasant murmur, *lene sonantis aquæ* [3] [of gently trickling water], some flood-gates, arches, falls of water, like London Bridge, or some continuate noise which may benumb the senses; *lenis motus, silentium et tenebra, tum et ipsa voluntas somnos faciunt:* as a gentle noise to some procures sleep, so, which Bernardinus Tilesius, *lib. de somno,* well observes, silence, in a dark room, and the will itself, is most available to others. Piso commends frications, Andrew Borde a good draught of strong drink before one goes to bed; I say, a nutmeg and ale, or a good draught of muscadine, with a toast and nutmeg, or a posset of the same, which many use in a morning, but, methinks, for such as have dry brains, are much more proper at night: some prescribe a sup of vinegar [4] as they go to bed, a spoonful, saith Aetius, *Tetrabib. lib.* 2, *ser.* 2, *cap.* 10, *lib.* 6, *cap.* 10. Ægineta, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 14; Piso, "a little after meat, because it rarefies melancholy, and procures an appetite to sleep." [5] Donat. ab Altomar., *cap.* 7, and Mercurialis approve of it, if the malady proceed from the spleen.[6] Sallust. Salvian., *lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, *de remed.*, Hercules de Saxonia, *in Pan.*, Ælianus Montaltus, *de morb. capitis, cap.* 28 *de melan.*, are altogether against it. Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. morb. cau. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, in some cases doth allow it. Rhasis [7] seems to deliberate of it; though Simeon commend it (in sauce peradventure), he makes a question of it. As for baths, fomentations, oils, potions, simples or compounds, inwardly taken to this purpose, I shall speak of them elsewhere.[8] If in the midst of the night when they lie awake, which is usual to toss and tumble, and not sleep, Ranzovius [9] would have them, if it be in warm weather, to rise and walk three or four turns (till they be cold) about the chamber, and then go to bed again.

Against fearful and troublesome dreams, *incubus* [nightmare], and such inconveniences, wherewith melancholy men are molested, the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easy of digestion, no hare, venison, beef, etc., not to lie on his back, not to meditate or think in the day-time of any terrible objects, or especially talk of them before he goes to bed. For, as he said in Lucian after such conference, *Hecates somniare mihi videor,* I can think of nothing but hobgoblins: and, as Tully notes,[10] "for the most part our speeches in the

day-time cause our phantasy to work upon the like in our sleep," which Ennius writes of Homer: *Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat:* as a dog dreams of a hare, so do men on such subjects they thought on last.

> *Somnia quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,*
> *Nec delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt,*
> *Sed sibi quisque facit,* etc.[1]
>
> [The dreams which mock us with fleeting shadows are sent neither from the shrines of the gods nor by the gods themselves, but each of us makes his own.]

For that cause when Ptolemy, King of Egypt, had posed the seventy interpreters in order, and asked the nineteenth man what would make one sleep quietly in the night, he told him, "the best way was to have divine and celestial meditations, and to use honest actions in the day-time."[2] Lod. Vives[3] "wonders how schoolmen could sleep quietly, and were not terrified in the night, or walk in the dark, they had such monstrous questions, and thought of such terrible matters all day long." They had need, amongst the rest, to sacrifice to God Morpheus, whom Philostratus[4] paints in a white and black coat, with a horn and ivory box full of dreams, of the same colours, to signify good and bad. If you will know how to interpret them, read Artemidorus, Sambucus, and Cardan; but how to help them, I must refer you to a more convenient place.[5]

MEMB. VI.

Subsect. I.—*Perturbations of the Mind rectified. From himself, by resisting to the utmost, confessing his grief to a friend, etc.*

Whosoever he is that shall hope to cure this malady in himself. or any other, must first rectify these passions and perturbations of the mind; the chiefest cure consists in them. A quiet mind is that *voluptas* [pleasure], or *summum bonum*, of Epicurus, *non dolere, curis vacare, animo tranquillo esse*, not to grieve, but to want cares and have a quiet soul, is the only pleasure of the world, as Seneca truly recites his opinion, not that of eating and drinking, which injurious Aristotle maliciously puts upon him, and for which he is still mistaken, *male audit et vapulat*, slandered without a cause, and lashed by all posterity. "Fear and sorrow, therefore, are especially to be avoided, and the

mind to be mitigated with mirth, constancy, good hope; vain terror, bad objects, are to be removed, and all such persons in whose companies they be not well pleased." [1] Gualter Bruel, Fernelius, *consil.* 43, Mercurialis, *consil.* 6, Piso, Jacchinus, *cap.* 15, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, Capivaccius, Hildesheim, etc., all inculcate this as an especial means of their cure, that their "minds be quietly pacified, vain conceits diverted, if it be possible, with terrors, cares,[2] fixed studies, cogitations, and whatsoever it is that shall any way molest or trouble the soul," [3] because that otherwise there is no good to be done. "The body's mischiefs," as Plato proves, "proceed from the soul: and if the mind be not first satisfied, the body can never be cured." [4] Alcibiades raves (saith Maximus Tyrius [5]) and is sick, his furious desires carry him from Lyceum to the pleading-place, thence to the sea, so into Sicily, thence to Lacedæmon, thence to Persia, thence to Samos, then again to Athens; Critias tyrannizeth over all the city; Sardanapalus is love-sick; these men are ill-affected all, and can never be cured till their minds be otherwise qualified. Crato, therefore, in that often-cited counsel of his for a nobleman his patient, when he had sufficiently informed him in diet, air, exercise, Venus, sleep, concludes with these as matters of greatest moment, *Quod reliquum est, animæ accidentia corrigantur* [it remains to correct the maladies of the mind], from which alone proceeds melancholy; they are the fountain, the subject, the hinges whereon it turns, and must necessarily be reformed. "For anger stirs choler, heats the blood and vital spirits; sorrow on the other side refrigerates the body, and extinguisheth natural heat, overthrows appetite, hinders concoction, dries up the temperature, and perverts the understanding"; [6] fear dissolves the spirits, infects the heart, attenuates the soul; and for these causes all passions and perturbations must, to the uttermost of our power and most seriously, be removed. Ælianus Montaltus attributes so much to them that he holds the rectification of them alone to be sufficient to the cure of melancholy in most patients.[7] Many are fully cured when they have seen or heard, etc., enjoy their desires, or be secured and satisfied in their minds; Galen, the common master of them all, from whose fountain they fetch water, brags, *lib.* 1 *de san. tuend.*, that he for his part hath cured divers of this infirmity, *solum animis ad rectum institutis*, by right settling alone of their minds.

Yea, but you will here infer that this is excellent good indeed if it could be done; but how shall it be effected, by whom, what

art, what means? *hic labor, hoc opus est* [this is the task, this the labour]. 'Tis a natural infirmity, a most powerful adversary; all men are subject to passions, and melancholy above all others, as being distempered by their innate humours, abundance of choler adust, weakness of parts, outward occurrences; and how shall they be avoided? The wisest men, greatest philosophers, of most excellent wit, reason, judgment, divine spirits, cannot moderate themselves in this behalf; such as are sound in body and mind, Stoics, heroes, Homer's gods, all are passionate, and furiously carried sometimes; and how shall we that are already crazed, *fracti animis*, sick in body, sick in mind, resist? We cannot perform it. You may advise and give good precepts, as who cannot? But how shall they be put in practice? I may not deny but our passions are violent, and tyrannize of us, yet there be means to curb them; though they be headstrong, they may be tamed, they may be qualified, if he himself or his friends will but use their honest endeavours, or make use of such ordinary helps as are commonly prescribed.

"He himself," I say; from the patient himself the first and chiefest remedy must be had; for if he be averse, peevish, waspish, give way wholly to his passions, will not seek to be helped or be ruled by his friends, how is it possible he should be cured? But if he be willing at least, gentle, tractable, and desire his own good, no doubt but he may *magnam morbi deponere partem*, be eased at least, if not cured. He himself must do his utmost endeavour to resist and withstand the beginnings. *Principiis obsta.* "Give not water passage, no not a little" (Ecclus. xxv, 25). If they open a little, they will make a greater breach at length. Whatsoever it is that runneth in his mind, vain conceit, be it pleasing or displeasing, which so much affects or troubleth him, "by all possible means he must withstand it, expel those vain, false, frivolous imaginations, absurd conceits, feigned fears and sorrows; from which," saith Piso, "this disease primarily proceeds, and takes his first occasion or beginning, by doing something or other that shall be opposite unto their thinking of something else, persuading by reason, or howsoever, to make a sudden alteration of them." [1] Though he have hitherto run in a full career, and precipitated himself, following his passions, giving reins to his appetite, let him now stop upon a sudden, curb himself in; and, as Lemnius adviseth,[2] "strive against with all his power, to the utmost of his endeavour, and not cherish those fond imaginations which so covertly creep into his mind, most pleasing and amiable at

first, but bitter as gall at last, and so headstrong that by no reason, art, counsel, or persuasion they may be shaken off." Though he be far gone, and habituated unto such phantastical imaginations, yet, as Tully and Plutarch advise,[1] let him oppose, fortify, or prepare himself against them, by premeditation, reason, or, as we do by a crooked staff, bend himself another way.

> *Tu tamen interea effugito quæ tristia mentem*
> *Sollicitant, procul esse jube curasque metumque*
> *Pallentem, ultrices iras; sint omnia læta.*[2]
>
> In the meantime expel them from thy mind,
> Pale fears, sad cares, and griefs which do it grind,
> Revengeful anger, pain and discontent;
> Let all thy soul be set on merriment.

Curas tolle graves, irasci crede profanum [dismiss all serious cares, count it sin to be angry]. If it be idleness hath caused this infirmity, or that he perceive himself given to solitariness, to walk alone, and please his mind with fond imaginations, let him by all means avoid it; 'tis a bosom enemy, 'tis delightsome melancholy, a friend in show, but a secret devil, a sweet poison, it will in the end be his undoing; let him go presently, task or set himself a work, get some good company. If he proceed, as a gnat flies about a candle, so long till at length he burn his body, so in the end he will undo himself; if it be any harsh object, ill company, let him presently go from it. If by his own default, through ill diet, bad air, want of exercise, etc., let him now begin to reform himself. "It would be a perfect remedy against all corruption, if," as Roger Bacon hath it,[3] "we could but moderate ourselves in those six non-natural things." "If it be any disgrace, abuse, temporal loss, calumny, death of friends, imprisonment, banishment, be not troubled with it, do not fear, be not angry, grieve not at it, but with all courage sustain it"[4] (Gordonius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 15, *de conser. vit.*). *Tu contra audentior ito* [advance boldly to meet it]. If it be sickness, ill success, or any adversity that hath caused it, oppose an invincible courage, "fortify thyself by God's word, or otherwise,"[5] *mala bonis persuadenda*, set prosperity against adversity, as we refresh our eyes by seeing some pleasant meadow, fountain, picture, or the like; recreate thy mind by some contrary object, with some more pleasing meditation divert thy thoughts.

Yea, but you infer again, *facile consilium damus aliis*, we can easily give counsel to others; every man, as the saying is,

can tame a shrew but he that hath her; *si hic esses, aliter sentires*, if you were in our misery, you would find it otherwise, 'tis not so easily performed. We know this to be true; we should moderate ourselves, but we are furiously carried, we cannot make use of such precepts, we are overcome, sick, *male sani*, distempered and habituated to these courses, we can make no resistance; you may as well bid him that is diseased not to feel pain, as a melancholy man not to fear, not to be sad: 'tis within his blood, his brains, his whole temperature, it cannot be removed. But he may choose whether he will give way too far unto it, he may in some sort correct himself. A philosopher was bitten with a mad dog, and as the nature of that disease is to abhor all waters and liquid things, and to think still they see the picture of a dog before them, he went for all this, *reluctante se* [forcing himself], to the bath, and seeing there (as he thought) in the water the picture of a dog, with reason overcame this conceit; *Quid cani cum balneo?* what should a dog do in a bath? a mere conceit. Thou thinkest thou hearest and seest devils, black men, etc., 'tis not so, 'tis thy corrupt phantasy; settle thine imagination, thou art well. Thou thinkest thou hast a great nose, thou art sick, every man observes thee, laughs thee to scorn; persuade thyself 'tis no such matter: this is fear only, and vain suspicion. Thou art discontent, thou art sad and heavy; but why? upon what ground? consider of it: thou art jealous, timorous, suspicious; for what cause? examine it thoroughly, thou shalt find none at all, or such as is to be contemned, such as thou wilt surely deride, and contemn in thyself, when it is past. Rule thyself then with reason, satisfy thyself, accustom thyself, wean thyself from such fond conceits, vain fears, strong imaginations, restless thoughts. Thou mayest do it; *Est in nobis assuescere* (as Plutarch saith), we may frame ourselves as we will. As he that useth an upright shoe may correct the obliquity or crookedness by wearing it on the other side, we may overcome passions if we will. *Quicquid sibi imperavit animus obtinuit* (as Seneca saith [1]): *nulli tam feri affectus, ut non disciplina perdomentur:* whatsoever the will desires, she may command: no such cruel affections, but by discipline they may be tamed; voluntarily thou wilt not do this or that, which thou oughtest to do, or refrain, etc., but when thou art lashed like a dull jade, thou wilt reform it; fear of a whip will make thee do, or not do. Do that voluntarily then which thou canst do, and must do by compulsion: thou mayst refrain if thou wilt, and master thine affections. "As in a

city" (saith Melancthon) "they do by stubborn rebellious rogues that will not submit themselves to political judgment, compel them by force; so must we do by our affections. If the heart will not lay aside those vicious motions, and the phantasy those fond imaginations, we have another form of government to enforce and refrain our outward members, that they be not led by our passions." [1] If appetite will not obey, let the moving faculty overrule her, let her resist and compel her to do otherwise. In an ague the appetite would drink; sore eyes that itch would be rubbed; but reason saith no, and therefore the moving faculty will not do it. Our phantasy would intrude a thousand fears, suspicions, chimeras upon us, but we have reason to resist, yet we let it be overborne by our appetite; "Imagination enforceth spirits, which, by an admirable league of nature, compel the nerves to obey, and they our several limbs": [2] we give too much way to our passions. And as to him that is sick of an ague all things are distasteful and unpleasant, *non ex cibi vitio*, saith Plutarch, not in the meat, but in our taste, so many things are offensive to us, not of themselves, but out of our corrupt judgment, jealousy, suspicion, and the like; we pull these mischiefs upon our own heads.

If then our judgment be so depraved, our reason overruled, will precipitated, that we cannot seek our own good, or moderate ourselves, as in this disease commonly it is, the best way for ease is to impart our misery to some friend, not to smother it up in our own breast; *alitur vitium crescitque tegendo* [a fault grows and becomes stronger by being covered up], etc., and that which was most offensive to us, a cause of fear and grief, *quod nunc te coquit*, another hell; for *strangulat inclusus dolor atque exæstuat intus*,[3] grief concealed strangles the soul; but whenas we shall but import it to some discreet, trusty, loving friend, it is instantly removed,[4] by his counsel haply, wisdom, persuasion, advice, his good means, which we could not otherwise apply unto ourselves. A friend's counsel is a charm, like mandrake wine, *curas sopit* [it assuages our care]; and as a bull that is tied to a fig-tree becomes gentle on a sudden [5] (which some, saith Plutarch,[6] interpret of good words), so is a savage, obdurate heart mollified by fair speeches. "All adversity finds ease in complaining" (as Isidore holds [7]), "and 'tis a solace to relate it," ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασίς ἐστιν ἑταίρου [8] [sweet is the comforting of a comrade]. Friends' confabulations are comfortable at all times, as fire in winter, shade in summer, *quale sopor fessis in gramine* [like sleep on the grass to the weary], meat

and drink to him that is hungry or athirst; Democritus' collyrium is not so sovereign to the eyes as this is to the heart; good words are cheerful and powerful of themselves, but much more from friends, as so many props, mutually sustaining each other like ivy and a wall, which Camerarius hath well illustrated in an emblem.[1] *Lenit animum simplex vel sæpe narratio,* the simple narration many times easeth our distressed mind, and in the midst of greatest extremities; so divers have been relieved, by exonerating themselves to a faithful friend:[2] he sees that which we cannot see for passion and discontent, he pacifies our minds, he will ease our pain, assuage our anger; *Quanta inde voluptas! quanta securitas!* Chrysostom adds, what pleasure, what security by that means! "Nothing so available, or that so much refresheth the soul of man."[3] Tully, as I remember, in an epistle to his dear friend Atticus, much condoles the defect of such a friend. "I live here" (saith he) "in a great city, where I have a multitude of acquaintance, but not a man of all that company with whom I dare familiarly breathe, or freely jest. Wherefore I expect thee, I desire thee, I send for thee; for there be many things which trouble and molest me, which, had I but thee in presence, I could quickly disburden myself of in a walking discourse."[4] The like, peradventure, may he and he say with that old man in the comedy,

Nemo est meorum amicorum hodie,
Apud quem expromere occulta mea audeam,

[I have not one friend to-day to whom I can open my heart,]

and much inconvenience may both he and he suffer in the meantime by it. He or he, or whosoever then labours of this malady, by all means let him get some trusty friend, *Semper habens Pylademque aliquem qui curet Orestem,*[5] a Pylades, to whom freely and securely he may open himself. For as in all other occurrences, so it is in this, *Si quis in cælum ascendisset,* etc., as he said in Tully,[6] if a man had gone to heaven, "seen the beauty of the skies," stars errant, fixed, etc., *insuavis erit admiratio,* it will do him no pleasure, except he have somebody to impart what he hath seen. It is the best thing in the world, as Seneca therefore adviseth in such a case,[7] "to get a trusty friend, to whom we may freely and sincerely pour out our secrets; nothing so delighteth and easeth the mind, as when we have a prepared bosom, to which our secrets may descend, of whose conscience we are assured as our own, whose speech may ease our succourless estate, counsel relieve, mirth expel

our mourning, and whose very sight may be acceptable unto us." It was the counsel which that politic Comineus [1] gave to all princes, and others distressed in mind, by occasion of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, that was much perplexed, "first to pray to God, and lay himself open to Him, and then to some special friend, whom we hold most dear, to tell all our grievances to him; nothing so forcible to strengthen, recreate, and heal the wounded soul of a miserable man."

SUBSECT. II.—*Help from friends by counsel, comfort, fair and foul means, witty devices, satisfaction, alteration of his course of life, removing objects, etc.*

When the patient of himself is not able to resist or overcome these heart-eating passions, his friends or physician must be ready to supply that which is wanting. *Suæ erit humanitatis et sapientiæ* (which Tully [2] enjoineth in like case) *siquid erratum, curare, aut improvisum, sua diligentia corrigere* [he must exercise his own friendship and wisdom to set right any mistake or remedy any unforeseen ill]. They must all join; *nec satis medico,* saith Hippocrates,[3] *suum fecisse officium, nisi suum quoque ægrotus, suum astantes* [it is not enough for the physician to do his duty, the patient and his friends must also do theirs], etc. First, they must especially beware, a melancholy discontented person (be it in what kind of melancholy soever) never be left alone or idle; but as physicians prescribe physic, *cum custodia,* let them not be left unto themselves, but with some company or other, lest by that means they aggravate and increase their disease; *non oportet ægros hujusmodi esse solos vel inter ignotos, vel inter eos quos non amant aut negligunt* [such sick persons should not be left by themselves or among strangers, or with persons whom they do not care for], as Rod. à Fonseca, *tom.* 1, *consult.* 35, prescribes. *Lugentes custodire solemus* (saith Seneca [4]) *ne solitudine male utantur:* we watch a sorrowful person, lest he abuse his solitariness, and so should we do a melancholy man; set him about some business, exercise or recreation, which may divert his thoughts, and still keep him otherwise intent; for his phantasy is so restless, operative and quick, that if it be not in perpetual action, ever employed, it will work upon itself, melancholize, and be carried away instantly, with some fear, jealousy, discontent, suspicion, some vain conceit or other.

If his weakness be such that he cannot discern what is amiss, correct, or satisfy, it behoves them by counsel, comfort, or persuasion, by fair or foul means, to alienate his mind, by some artificial invention, or some contrary persuasion, to remove all objects, causes, companies, occasions, as may anyways molest him, to humour him, please him, divert him, and, if it be possible, by altering his course of life, to give him security and satisfaction. If he conceal his grievances, and will not be known of them, "they must observe by his looks, gestures, motions, phantasy, what it is that offends," [1] and then to apply remedies unto him. Many are instantly cured, when their minds are satisfied. Alexander makes mention of a woman, "that, by reason of her husband's long absence in travel, was exceeding peevish and melancholy, but when she heard her husband was returned, beyond all expectation, at the first sight of him, she was freed from all fear, without help of any other physic restored to her former health." [2] Trincavellius, *consil.* 12, *lib.* 1, hath such a story of a Venetian that, being much troubled with melancholy, "and ready to die for grief, when he heard his wife was brought to bed of a son, instantly recovered." [3] As Alexander concludes, "If our imaginations be not inveterate, by this art they may be cured, especially if they proceed from such a cause." [4] No better way to satisfy than to remove the object, cause, occasion, if by any art or means possible we may find it out. If he grieve, stand in fear, be in suspicion, suspense, or anyway molested, secure him, *solvitur malum*, give him satisfaction, the cure is ended; alter his course of life, there needs no other physic. If the party be sad, or otherwise affected, "consider" (saith Trallianus [5]) "the manner of it, all circumstances, and forthwith make a sudden alteration," by removing the occasions; avoid all terrible objects, heard or seen, "monstrous and prodigious aspects," [6] tales of devils, spirits, ghosts, tragical stories; to such as are in fear they strike a great impression, renew many times, and recall such chimeras and terrible fictions into their minds. "Make not so much as mention of them in private talk, or a dumb show tending to that purpose: such things" (saith Galatæus) "are offensive to their imaginations." [7] And to those that are now in sorrow, Seneca [8] forbids "all sad companions, and such as lament; a groaning companion is an enemy to quietness." "Or if there be any such party, at whose presence the patient is not well pleased, he must be removed: gentle speeches and fair means must first be tried; no harsh language used, or uncomfortable words; and

not expel, as some do, one madness with another; he that so doth is madder than the patient himself": [1] all things must be quietly composed; *eversa non evertenda, sed erigenda,* things down must not be dejected, but reared, as Crato counselleth; "he must be quietly and gently used," [2] and we should not do anything against his mind, but by little and little effect it. As a horse that starts at a drum or trumpet, and will not endure the shooting of a piece, may be so manned by art, and animated, that he cannot only endure, but is much more generous at the hearing of such things, much more courageous than before, and much delighteth in it: they must not be reformed *ex abrupto* [abruptly], but by all art and insinuation, made to such companies, aspects, objects they could not formerly away with. Many at first cannot endure the sight of a green wound, a sick man, which afterward become good chirurgeons, bold empirics: a horse starts at a rotten post afar off, which coming near he quietly passeth. 'Tis much in the manner of making such kind of persons; be they never so averse from company, bashful, solitary, timorous, they may be made at last, with those Roman matrons, to desire nothing more than, in a public show, to see a full company of gladiators breathe out their last.

If they may not otherwise be accustomed to brook such distasteful and displeasing objects, the best way then is generally to avoid them. Montanus, *consil.* 229, to the Earl of Montfort, a courtier, and his melancholy patient, adviseth him to leave the court, by reason of those continual discontents, crosses, abuses, "cares, suspicions, emulations, ambition, anger, jealousy, which that place afforded, and which surely caused him to be so melancholy at the first." [3] *Maxima quæque domus servis est plena superbis* [every great house is full of haughty slaves]; a company of scoffers and proud Jacks are commonly conversant and attendant in such places, and able to make any man that is of a soft, quiet disposition (as many times they do) *ex stulto insanum,* if once they humour him, a very idiot, or stark mad. A thing too much practised in all common societies; and they have no better sport than to make themselves merry by abusing some silly fellow, or to take advantage of another man's weakness. In such cases, as in a plague, the best remedy is *cito, longe, tarde* (for to such a party, especially if he be apprehensive, there can be no greater misery), to get him quickly gone, far enough off, and not to be overhasty in his return. If he be so stupid that he do not apprehend it, his friends should take some order, and by their discretion supply that which is

wanting in him, as in all other cases they ought to do. If they see a man melancholy given, solitary, averse from company, please himself with such private and vain meditations, though he delight in it, they ought by all means seek to divert him, to dehort him, to tell him of the event and danger that may come of it. If they see a man idle, that by reason of his means otherwise will betake himself to no course of life, they ought seriously to admonish him he makes a noose to entangle himself, his want of employment will be his undoing. If he have sustained any great loss, suffered a repulse, disgrace, etc., if it be possible, relieve him. If he desire aught, let him be satisfied; if in suspense, fear, suspicion, let him be secured: and if it may conveniently be, give him his heart's content; for the body cannot be cured till the mind be satisfied. Socrates, in Plato, would prescribe no physic for Charmides' headache, "till first he had eased his troublesome mind; body and soul must be cured together, as head and eyes." [1]

Oculum non curabis sine toto capite,
Nec caput sine toto corpore,
Nec totum corpus sine anima.[2]
[The eye cannot be cured without the whole head, nor the head without the whole body, nor the body without the mind.]

If that may not be hoped or expected, yet ease him with comfort, cheerful speeches, fair promises, and good words; persuade him, advise him. "Many," saith Galen, "have been cured by good counsel and persuasion alone." [3] "Heaviness of the heart of man doth bring it down, but a good word rejoiceth it" (Prov. xii, 25). "And there is he that speaketh words like the pricking of a sword, but the tongue of a wise man is health" (ver. 18). *Oratio namque saucii animi est remedium*, a gentle speech is the true cure of a wounded soul, as Plutarch [4] contends out of Æschylus and Euripides; "if it be wisely administered it easeth grief and pain, as divers remedies do many other diseases." 'Tis *incantationis instar*, a charm, *æstuantis animi refrigerium* [to calm a storm-tossed mind], that true nepenthe of Homer, which was no Indian plant, or feigned medicine, which Epidamna, Thon's wife, sent Helena for a token, as Macrobius, 7 *Saturnal.*, Goropius, *Hermath.*, *lib.* 9, Greg. Nazianzen, and others suppose, but opportunity of speech: for Helena's bowl, Medea's unction, Venus' girdle, Circe's cup, cannot so enchant, so forcibly move or alter as it

doth. A letter sent or read will do as much; *Multum allevor quum tuas literas lego*, "I am much eased," as Tully writ to Pomponius Atticus,[1] "when I read thy letters"; and as Julianus the Apostate once signified to Maximus the philosopher, "As Alexander slept with Homer's works, so do I with thine epistles, *tanquam Pæoniis medicamentis, easque assidue tanquam recentes et novas iteramus; scribe ergo, et assidue scribe* [as though they were the finest medicine. I peruse them again greedily as though they were fresh; write, therefore, and write diligently], or else come thyself; *amicus ad amicum venies* [come to your old friend]." Assuredly a wise and well-spoken man may do what he will in such a case; a good orator alone, as Tully holds,[2] can alter affections by power of his eloquence, "comfort such as are afflicted, erect such as are depressed, expel and mitigate fear, lust, anger," etc. And how powerful is the charm of a discreet and dear friend! *Ille regit dictis animos et temperat iras* [he soothes their angry passions with his words]. What may not he effect? As Chremes told Menedemus,[3] "Fear not, conceal it not, O friend! but tell me what it is that troubles thee, and I shall surely help thee by comfort, counsel, or in the matter itself." Arnoldus, *lib.* 1 *Breviar. cap.* 18, speaks of a usurer in his time, that upon a loss, much melancholy and discontent, was so cured.[4] As imagination, fear, grief, cause such passions, so conceits alone, rectified by good hope, counsel, etc., are able again to help; and 'tis incredible how much they can do in such a case, as Trincavellius[5] illustrates by an example of a patient of his. Porphyrius, the philosopher, in Plotinus' life (written by him), relates that, being in a discontented humour through unsufferable anguish of mind, he was going to make away himself; but meeting by chance his master Plotinus, who, perceiving by his distracted looks all was not well, urged him to confess his grief; which when he had heard, he used such comfortable speeches, that he redeemed him *e faucibus Erebi* [from the jaws of Hades], pacified his unquiet mind, insomuch that he was easily reconciled to himself, and much abashed to think afterwards that he should ever entertain so vile a motion. By all means, therefore, fair promises, good words, gentle persuasions are to be used, not to be too rigorous at first, "or to insult over them, not to deride, neglect, or contemn, but rather," as Lemnius exhorteth, "to pity, and by all plausible means to seek to reduce them";[6] but if satisfaction may not be had, mild courses, promises, comfortable speeches, and good counsel will not take place; then, as Christopherus à Vega determines,

lib. 3, *cap.* 14, *de mel.* to handle them more roughly, to threaten and chide, saith Altomarus,[1] terrify sometimes, or, as Salvianus will have them, to be lashed and whipped, as we do by a starting horse that is affrighted without a cause,[2] or, as Rhasis adviseth, "one while to speak fair and flatter, another while to terrify and chide,[3] as they shall see cause."

When none of these precedent remedies will avail, it will not be amiss, which Savonarola and Ælian Montaltus so much commend, *clavum clavo pellere* [to drive out a nail with a nail], "to drive out one passion with another, or by some contrary passion,"[4] as they do bleeding at nose by letting blood in the arm, to expel one fear with another, one grief with another. Christopherus à Vega [5] accounts it rational physic, *non alienum a ratione*; and Lemnius much approves it, "to use an hard wedge to an hard knot," to drive out one disease with another, to pull out a tooth, or wound him, to geld him, saith Platerus,[6] as they did epileptical patients of old, because it quite alters the temperature, that the pain of the one may mitigate the grief of the other; "and I knew one that was so cured of a quartan ague, by the sudden coming of his enemies upon him." [7] If we may believe Pliny,[8] whom Scaliger calls *mendaciorum patrem*, the father of lies, Q. Fabius Maximus, that renowned consul of Rome, in a battle fought with the king of the Allobroges at the river Isaurus, was so rid of a quartan ague. Valesius, in his Controversies, holds this an excellent remedy, and, if it be discreetly used in this malady, better than any physic.

Sometimes again by some feigned lie, strange news, witty device, artificial invention, it is not amiss to deceive them.[9] "As they hate those," saith Alexander,[10] "that neglect or deride, so they will give ear to such as will soothe them up. If they say they have swallowed frogs or a snake, by all means grant it, and tell them you can easily cure it"; 'tis an ordinary thing. Philodotus the physician cured a melancholy king that thought his head was off, by putting a leaden cap thereon; the weight made him perceive it, and freed him of his fond imagination. A woman, in the said Alexander, swallowed a serpent as she thought; he gave her a vomit, and conveyed a serpent, such as she conceived, into the basin; upon the sight of it she was amended. The pleasantest dotage that ever I read, saith Laurentius,[11] was of a gentleman at Senes in Italy, who was afraid to piss, lest all the town should be drowned; the physicians caused the bells to be rung backward, and told him the town was on fire, whereupon he made water, and was immediately

cured. Another supposed his nose so big that he should dash it against the wall if he stirred; his physician took a great piece of flesh, and holding it in his hand pinched him by the nose, making him believe that flesh was cut from it. Forestus, *Obs. lib.* 1, had a melancholy patient who thought he was dead; "he put a fellow in a chest, like a dead man, by his bed's side, and made him rear himself a little, and eat: the melancholy man asked the counterfeit whether dead men use to eat meat? he told him yea; whereupon he did eat likewise and was cured."[1] Lemnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 6, *de* 4 *complex.*, hath many such instances, and Jovianus Pontanus, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 2, of Wisdom, of the like: but amongst the rest I find one most memorable, registered in the French chronicles,[2] of an advocate of Paris before mentioned, who believed verily he was dead, etc. I read a multitude of examples of melancholy men cured by such artificial inventions.

SUBSECT. III.—*Music a Remedy*

Many and sundry are the means which philosophers and physicians have prescribed to exhilarate a sorrowful heart, to divert those fixed and intent cares and meditations, which in this malady so much offend; but in my judgment none so present, none so powerful, none so apposite as a cup of strong drink, mirth, music, and merry company. Ecclus. xl, 20, "Wine and music rejoice the heart." Rhasis, *Cont.* 9, *tract.* 15, Altomarus, *cap.* 7, Ælianus Montaltus, *cap.* 26, Ficinus, Bened. Victor. Faventinus, are almost immoderate in the commendation of it; a most forcible medicine Jacchinus[3] calls it; Jason Pratensis,[4] "a most admirable thing, and worthy of consideration, that can so mollify the mind, and stay those tempestuous affections of it." *Musica est mentis medicina mæstæ*, [music is] a roaring-meg against melancholy, to rear and revive the languishing soul; "affecting not only the ears, but the very arteries, the vital and animal spirits, it erects the mind, and makes it nimble"[5] (Lemnius, *Instit. cap.* 44). This it will effect in the most dull, severe, and sorrowful souls, "expel grief with mirth, and if there be any clouds, dust, or dregs of cares yet lurking in our thoughts, most powerfully it wipes them all away"[6] (Sarisbur. *Polycrat. lib.* 1, *cap.* 6), and that which is more, it will perform all this in an instant: "cheer up the countenance, expel austerity, bring in hilarity" (Girald. Camb. *cap.* 12 *Topog. Hiber.*), "inform our manners, mitigate anger."[7] Athenæus (*Deipnosophist. lib.* 14, *cap.* 10) calleth it an infinite treasure to

such as are endowed with it. *Dulcisonum reficit tristia corda melos* [a sweet melody restoreth a sad heart] (Eobanus Hessus). Many other properties Cassiodorus, *epist.* 4, reckons up of this our divine music, not only to expel the greatest griefs, but "it doth extenuate fears and furies, appeaseth cruelty, abateth heaviness, and to such as are watchful it causeth quiet rest; it takes away spleen and hatred," [1] be it instrumental, vocal, with strings, wind, *quæ a spiritu, sine manuum dexteritate gubernetur* [2] [such as are played with the breath, without any action of the hands], etc.; it cures all irksomeness and heaviness of the soul. Labouring men that sing to their work can tell as much,[3] and so can soldiers when they go to fight, whom terror of death cannot so much affright as the sound of trumpet, drum, fife, and such-like music animates; *metus enim mortis*, as Censorinus informeth us,[4] *musica depellitur* [for the fear of death can be banished by music]. "It makes a child quiet," the nurse's song; and many times the sound of a trumpet on a sudden, bells ringing, a carman's whistle, a boy singing some ballad tune early in the street, alters, revives, recreates a restless patient that cannot sleep in the night, etc. In a word, it is so powerful a thing that it ravisheth the soul, *regina sensuum*, the queen of the senses, by sweet pleasure (which is a happy cure), and corporal tunes pacify our incorporeal soul; *sine ore loquens, dominatum in animam exercet* [speaking without a mouth, it exercises domination over the soul], and carries it beyond itself, helps, elevates, extends it. Scaliger, *exercit.* 302, gives a reason of these effects, "because the spirits about the heart take in that trembling and dancing air into the body, are moved together, and stirred up with it," [5] or else the mind, as some suppose, harmonically composed, is roused up at the tunes of music. And 'tis not only men that are so affected, but almost all other creatures. You know the tale of Hercules Gallus, Orpheus, and Amphion, *felices animas* [blessed souls] Ovid calls them, that could *saxa movere sono testudinis*, etc. make stocks and stones, as well as beasts and other animals, dance after their pipes: the dog and hare, wolf and lamb; *vicinumque lupo præbuit agna latus* [the lamb lay down by the side of the wolf]; *clamosus graculus, stridula cornix, et Jovis aquila* [the chattering daw, the croaking rook, the eagle of Jove], as Philostratus describes it in his Images, stood all gaping upon Orpheus; and trees pulled up by the roots came to hear him,[6] *Et comitem quercum pinus amica trahit* [the pine brought the oak in company].

Arion made fishes follow him, which, as common experience evinceth, are much affected with music.[1] All singing-birds are much pleased with it, especially nightingales, if we may believe Calcagninus; and bees amongst the rest, though they be flying away, when they hear any tingling sound, will tarry behind. "Harts, hinds, horses, dogs, bears, are exceedingly delighted with it" (Scal. *exerc.* 302);[2] elephants, Agrippa adds, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 24; and in Lydia in the midst of a lake there be certain floating islands (if ye will believe it), that after music will dance.

But to leave all declamatory speeches in praise of divine music,[3] I will confine myself to my proper subject: besides that excellent power it hath to expel many other diseases, it is a sovereign remedy against despair and melancholy,[4] and will drive away the devil himself. Canus, a Rhodian fiddler in Philostratus,[5] when Apollonius was inquisitive to know what he could do with his pipe, told him, "that he would make a melancholy man merry, and him that was merry much merrier than before, a lover more enamoured, a religious man more devout." Ismenias the Theban, Chiron the centaur,[6] is said to have cured this and many other diseases by music alone: as now they do those, saith Bodine,[7] that are troubled with St. Vitus' Bedlam dance. Timotheus, the musician, compelled Alexander to skip up and down, and leave his dinner [9] (like the tale of the Friar and the Boy), whom Austin, *de Civ. Dei, lib.* 17, *cap.* 14, so much commends for it. Who hath not heard how David's harmony drove away the evil spirits from King Saul (1 Sam. xvi); and Elisha, when he was much troubled by importunate kings, called for a minstrel, "and when he played, the hand of the Lord came upon him" (2 Kings iii). Censorinus, *de natali, cap.* 12, reports how Asclepiades the physician helped many frantic persons by this means, *phreneticorum mentes morbo turbatas.* Jason Pratensis, *cap. de mania,* hath many examples, how Clinias and Empedocles cured some desperately melancholy, and some mad, by this our music. Which because it hath such excellent virtues, belike Homer [9] brings in Phemius playing, and the Muses singing, at the banquet of the gods. Aristotle, *Polit. lib.* 8, *cap.* 5, Plato, 2 *de legibus,* highly approve it, and so do all politicians. The Greeks, Romans, have graced music, and made it one of the liberal sciences, though it be now become mercenary. All civil commonwealths allow it: Cneius Manlius (as Livius relates [10]), *anno ab urb. cond.* 567, brought first out of Asia to Rome singing-wenches, players, jesters, and all kind of music to their feasts. Your princes, emperors, and persons of

any quality, maintain it in their courts; no mirth without music. Sir Thomas More, in his absolute Utopian commonwealth, allows music as an appendix to every meal, and that throughout, to all sorts. Epictetus calls *mensam mutam præsepe*, a table without music a manger; for "the concent of musicians at a banquet is a carbuncle set in gold; and as the signet of an emerald well trimmed with gold, so is the melody of music in a pleasant banquet" (Ecclus. xxxii, 5, 6). Louis the Eleventh,[1] when he invited Edward the Fourth to come to Paris, told him that, as a principal part of his entertainment, he should hear sweet voices of children, Ionic and Lydian tunes, exquisite music, he should have a ——, and the Cardinal of Bourbon to be his confessor, which he used as a most plausible argument; as to a sensual man indeed it is. Lucian, in his book *de saltatione*, is not ashamed to confess that he took infinite delight in singing, dancing, music, women's company, and such-like pleasures: "and if thou" (saith he) "didst but hear them play and dance, I know thou wouldst be so well pleased with the object that thou wouldst dance for company thyself, without doubt thou wilt be taken with it."[2] So Scaliger ingenuously confesseth, *exercit.* 274, "I am beyond all measure affected with music, I do most willingly behold them dance, I am mightily detained and allured with that grace and comeliness of fair women, I am well pleased to be idle amongst them."[3] And what young man is not? As it is acceptable and conducing to most, so especially to a melancholy man; provided always, his disease proceed not originally from it, that he be not some light *inamorato*, some idle phantastic, who capers in conceit all the day long, and thinks of nothing else but how to make jigs, sonnets, madrigals, in commendation of his mistress. In such cases music is most pernicious, as a spur to a free horse will make him run himself blind, or break his wind; *incitamentum enim amoris musica* [for music is a stimulus to love], for music enchants, as Menander holds, it will make such melancholy persons mad, and the sound of those jigs and hornpipes will not be removed out of the ears a week after. Plato[4] for this reason forbids music and wine to all young men, because they are most part amorous, *ne ignis addatur igni*, lest one fire increase another. Many men are melancholy by hearing music, but it is a pleasing melancholy that it causeth; and therefore to such as are discontent, in woe, fear, sorrow, or dejected, it is a most present remedy: it expels cares, alters their grieved minds, and easeth in an instant. Otherwise, saith

Plutarch,[1] *musica magis dementat quam vinum* [music maddens more than wine]; music makes some men mad as a tiger; like Astolpho's horn in Ariosto, or Mercury's golden wand in Homer, that made some wake, others sleep, it hath divers effects; and Theophrastus right well prophesied that diseases were either procured by music or mitigated.[2]

SUBSECT. IV.—*Mirth and merry company, fair objects, Remedies*

Mirth and merry company may not be separated from music, both concerning and necessarily required in this business. "Mirth" (saith Vives[3]) "purgeth the blood, confirms health, causeth a fresh, pleasing, and fine colour," prorogues life, whets the wit, makes the body young, lively, and fit for any manner of employment. The merrier the heart the longer the life; "A merry heart is the life of the flesh" (Prov. xiv, 30); "Gladness prolongs his days" (Ecclus. xxx, 22); and this is one of the three Salernitan doctors, Dr. Merryman, Dr. Diet, Dr. Quiet, which cures all diseases[4]—*Mens hilaris, requies, moderata diæta* [cheerfulness, rest, temperate diet]. Gomesius, *præfat. lib.* 3 *de sal. gen.*, is a great magnifier of honest mirth, by which (saith he) "we cure many passions of the mind in ourselves, and in our friends";[5] which Galatæus[6] assigns for a cause why we love merry companions: and well they deserve it, being that, as Magninus holds,[7] a merry companion is better than any music, and, as the saying is, *comes jucundus in via pro vehiculo*, as a wagon to him that is wearied on the way. *Jucunda confabulatio, sales, joci*, pleasant discourse, jests, conceits, merry tales, *melliti verborum globuli* ["dainty-fine honey-pellets of words"], as Petronius, Pliny,[8] Spondanus,[9] Cælius,[10] and many good authors plead, are that sole nepenthes of Homer, Helena's bowl, Venus' girdle, so renowned of old to expel grief and care, to cause mirth and gladness of heart,[11] if they be rightly understood, or seasonably applied. In a word,

> *Amor, voluptas, Venus, gaudium,*
> *Jocus, ludus, sermo suavis, suaviatio,*[12]
>
> [Love, pleasure, Venus, joy, merriment, pleasant conversation, kissing,]

are the true nepenthes. For these causes our physicians generally prescribe this as a principal engine to batter the walls of melancholy, a chief antidote, and a sufficient cure of

itself. "By all means" (saith Mesue[1]) "procure mirth to these men in such things as are heard, seen, tasted, or smelled, or anyway perceived, and let them have all enticements and fair promises, the sight of excellent beauties, attires, ornaments, delightsome passages, to distract their minds from fear and sorrow, and such things on which they are so fixed and intent." "Let them use hunting, sports, plays, jests, merry company," as Rhasis prescribes, "which will not let the mind be molested, a cup of good drink now and then, hear music, and have such companions with whom they are especially delighted"; [2] "merry tales or toys, drinking, singing, dancing, and whatsoever else may procure mirth"; [3] and by no means, saith Guianerius, suffer them to be alone. Benedictus Victorius Faventinus, in his Empirics, accounts it an especial remedy against melancholy, "to hear and see singing, dancing, maskers, mummers, to converse with such merry fellows and fair maids." [4] For "the beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance" (Ecclus. xxxvi, 22). Beauty alone is a sovereign remedy against fear, grief, and all melancholy fits; a charm, as Peter de la Seine [5] and many other writers affirm, a banquet itself; he gives instance in discontented Menelaus, that was so often freed by Helena's fair face: and Tully, 3 *Tusc.*, cites Epicurus as a chief patron of this tenent.[6] To expel grief, and procure pleasance, sweet smells, good diet, touch, taste, embracing, singing, dancing, sports, plays, and, above the rest, exquisite beauties, *quibus oculi jucunde moventur et animi* [which take the eye and charm the mind], are most powerful means, *obvia forma*, to meet or see a fair maid pass by, or to be in company with her. He found it by experience, and made good use of it in his own person, if Plutarch belie him not; for he reckons up the names of some more elegant pieces, Leontium, Boedina, Hedeia, Nicidium, that were frequently seen in Epicurus' garden,[7] and very familiar in his house. Neither did he try it himself alone, but if we may give credit to Athenæus,[8] he practised it upon others. For when a sad and sick patient was brought unto him to be cured, "he laid him on a down bed, crowned him with a garland of sweet-smelling flowers, in a fair perfumed closet delicately set out, and, after a potion or two of good drink which he administered, he brought in a beautiful young wench [9] that could play upon a lute, sing and dance," etc. Tully, 3 *Tusc.*, scoffs at Epicurus for this his profane physic (as well he deserved), and yet Favorinus and Stobæus highly approve of it. Most of our looser physicians in some cases, to such parties especially, allow

of this; and all of them will have a melancholy, sad, and discontented person make frequent use of honest sports, companies, and recreations, *et incitandos ad Venerem*, as Rodericus à Fonseca will,[1] *aspectu et contactu pulcherrimarum feminarum* [and] to be drawn to such consorts [with beautiful women], whether they will or no. Not to be an auditor only, or a spectator, but sometimes an actor himself. *Dulce est desipere in loco*, to play the fool now and then is not amiss, there is a time for all things. Grave Socrates would be merry by fits, sing, dance, and take his liquor too, or else Theodoret belies him; so would old Cato, Tully by his own confession,[2] and the rest. Xenophon, in his *Sympos.*, brings in Socrates as a principal actor, no man merrier than himself, and sometimes he would "ride a cock-horse with his children," [3] *equitare in arundine longa* (though Alcibiades scoffed at him for it), and well he might; for now and then (saith Plutarch) the most virtuous, honest, and gravest men will use feasts, jests, and toys, as we do sauce to our meats. So did Scipio and Lælius:

> *Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remorant,*
> *Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli,*
> *Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec*
> *Decoqueretur olus, soliti.*[4]
>
> Valorous Scipio and gentle Lælius,
> Removed from the scene and rout so clamorous,
> Were wont to recreate themselves, their robes laid by,
> Whilst supper by the cook was making ready.

Machiavel, in the eighth book of his Florentine History, gives this note of Cosmus Medices,[5] the wisest and gravest man of his time in Italy, that he would "now and then play the most egregious fool in his carriage, and was so much given to jesters, players and childish sports, to make himself merry, that he that should but consider his gravity on the one part, his folly and lightness on the other, would surely say, there were two distinct persons in him." [6] Now methinks he did well in it, though Sarisburiensis [7] be of opinion that magistrates, senators, and grave men should not descend to lighter sports, *ne res-publica ludere videatur* [lest the State should seem to trifle], but, as Themistocles, still keep a stern and constant carriage. I commend Cosmus Medices, and Castruccius Castrucanus, than whom Italy never knew a worthier captain, another Alexander, if Machiavel do not deceive us in his life: "When a friend of his reprehended him for dancing beside his dignity" (belike at some cushion dance), he told him again, *qui sapit interdiu vix unquam*

noctu desipit, he that is wise in the day may dote a little in the night.[1] Paulus Jovius relates as much of Pope Leo Decimus, that he was a grave, discreet, staid man, yet sometimes most free, and too open in his sports. And 'tis not altogether unfit or misbeseeming the gravity of such a man, if that decorum of time, place, and such circumstances be observed.[2] *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem*[3] [mix a little folly with serious business]; and, as he said[4] in an epigram to his wife, I would have every man say to himself, or to his friend:

> Moll, once in pleasant company by chance,
> I wished that you for company would dance:
> Which you refused, and said, your years require,
> Now, matron-like, both manners and attire.
> Well, Moll, if needs you will be matron-like,
> Then trust to this, I will thee matron like:
> Yet so to you my love may never lessen,
> As you for church, house, bed, observe this lesson:
> Sit in the church as solemn as a saint,
> No deed, word, thought, your due devotion taint:
> Veil, if you will, your head, your soul reveal
> To him that only wounded souls can heal:
> Be in my house as busy as a bee,
> Having a sting for every one but me;
> Buzzing in every corner, gath'ring honey:
> Let nothing waste, that costs or yieldeth money.
> And when thou seest my heart to mirth incline,
> Thy tongue, wit, blood, warm with good cheer and wine:
> Then of sweet sports let no occasion scape,
> But be as wanton, toying, as an ape.[5]

Those old Greeks had their *Lubentiam deam*, goddess of pleasance,[6] and the Lacedemonians, instructed from Lycurgus, did *deo Risui sacrificare* [sacrifice to the god Laughter] after their wars especially, and in times of peace, which was used in Thessaly, as it appears by that of Apuleius,[7] who was made an instrument of their laughter himself, "because laughter and merriment was to season their labours and modester life."[8] *Risus enim divum atque hominum est æterna voluptas*[9] [for laughter is for ever the pleasure of men and gods]. Princes use jesters, players, and have those masters of revels in their courts. The Romans at every supper (for they had no solemn dinner) used music, gladiators, jesters, etc., as Suetonius relates of Tiberius,[10] Dion of Commodus, and so did the Greeks. Besides music, in Xenophon's *Sympos.*, *Philippus, ridendi artifex*, Philip, a jester, was brought to make sport. Paulus Jovius, in the eleventh book of his History, hath a pretty digression of

our English customs, which howsoever some may misconster, I, for my part, will interpret to the best. "The whole nation beyond all other mortal men is most given to banqueting and feasts; for they prolong them many hours together, with dainty cheer, exquisite music, and facete jesters, and afterwards they fall a-dancing and courting their mistresses, till it be late in the night."[1] Volaterran gives the same testimony of this island, commending our jovial manner of entertainment and good mirth, and methinks he saith well, there is no harm in it; long may they use it, and all such modest sports. Ctesias reports of a Persian king, that had 150 maids attending at his table, to play, sing, and dance by turns; and Lil. Giraldus[2] of an Egyptian prince, that kept nine virgins still to wait upon him, and those of most excellent feature and sweet voices, which afterwards gave occasion to the Greeks of that fiction of the nine Muses. The king of Ethiopia in Africa, most of our Asiatic princes have done so and do; those Sophies, Mogors, Turks, etc., solace themselves after supper amongst their queens and concubines, *quæ jucundioris oblectamenti causa* (saith mine author[3]) *coram rege psallere et saltare consueverant*, taking great pleasure to see and hear them sing and dance. This and many such means to exhilarate the heart of men have been still practised in all ages, as knowing there is no better thing to the preservation of man's life. What shall I say then, but to every melancholy man,

> *Utere convivis, non tristibus utere amicis,*
> *Quos nugæ et risus, et joca salsa juvant.*[4]
>
> Feast often, and use friends not still so sad,
> Whose jests and merriments may make thee glad.

Use honest and chaste sports, scenical shows, plays, games: *Accedant juvenumque chori, mistæque puellæ*[5] [bring choruses of youths and maidens together]. And, as Marsilius Ficinus concludes an epistle to Bernard Canisianus and some other of his friends, will I this tract to all good students: "Live merrily, O my friends, free from cares, perplexity, anguish, grief of mind, live merrily,[6] *lætitiæ cœlum vos creavit* [Heaven created you for mirth]. Again and again I request you to be merry, if anything trouble your hearts, or vex your souls, neglect and contemn it,[7] let it pass.[8] And this I enjoin you, not as a divine alone, but as a physician; for without this mirth, which is the life and quintessence of physic, medicines, and whatsoever is used and applied to prolong the life of man, is dull, dead, and

of no force."[1] *Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti* [while the fates permit, live joyfully] (Seneca). I say, be merry.

Nec lusibus virentem
Viduemus hanc juventam.[2]

[Youth, whose month is May,
From its merry play
'Twere not well to stay.]

It was Tiresias the prophet's counsel to Menippus,[3] that travelled all the world over, even down to hell itself, to seek content, and his last farewell to Menippus, to be merry. "Contemn the world" (saith he) "and count that is in it vanity and toys; this only covet all thy life long; be not curious or over-solicitous in anything, but with a well-composed and contented estate to enjoy thyself, and above all things to be merry."[4]

Si, Mimnermus uti conset, sine amore jocisque
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.

[If, as Mimnermus thinks, there is no pleasure in life without mirth and love, then live for mirth and love.]

"Nothing better" (to conclude with Solomon, Eccles. iii, 22) "than that a man should rejoice in his affairs." 'Tis the same advice which every physician in this case rings to his patient, as Capivaccius to his, "Avoid overmuch study and perturbations of the mind, and as much as in thee lies live at heart's ease";[5] Prosper Calenus to that melancholy Cardinal Cæsius, "Amidst thy serious studies and business, use jests and conceits, plays and toys, and whatsoever else may recreate thy mind."[6] Nothing better than mirth and merry company in this malady. "It begins with sorrow" (saith Montanus), "it must be expelled with hilarity."[7]

But see the mischief; many men, knowing that merry company is the only medicine against melancholy, will therefore neglect their business, and, in another extreme, spend all their days among good fellows in a tavern or an ale-house, and know not otherwise how to bestow their time but in drinking; malt-worms, men-fishes, or water-snakes, *qui bibunt solum ranarum more, nihil comedentes*,[8] like so many frogs in a puddle. 'Tis their sole exercise to eat, and drink; to sacrifice to Volupia, Rumina, Edulica, Potina, Mellona, is all their religion. They wish for Philoxenus' neck, Jupiter's *trinoctium*, and that the sun would stand still as in Joshua's time, to satisfy their lust, that they might *dies noctesque pergræcari et bibere* [to revel and

carouse day and night]. Flourishing wits, and men of good parts, good fashion, and good worth, basely prostitute themselves to every rogue's company, to take tobacco and drink, to roar and sing scurrile songs in base places.

> *Invenies aliquem cum percussore jacentem,*
> *Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis.*[1]
>
> [You will find him lying beside a cut-throat, amid a crowd of sailors, or thieves, or runaway slaves.]

Which Thomas Erastus objects to Paracelsus, that he would lie drinking all day long with carmen and tapsters in a brothel-house, is too frequent amongst us, with men of better note: like Timocreon of Rhodes, *multa bibens et multa vorans*, etc., they drown their wits, seethe their brains in ale, consume their fortunes, lose their time, weaken their temperatures, contract filthy diseases, rheums, dropsies, calentures, tremor, get swollen jugulars, pimpled red faces, sore eyes, etc., heat their livers, alter their complexions, spoil their stomachs, overthrow their bodies; for drink drowns more than the sea and all the rivers that fall into it (mere funges and casks), confound their souls, suppress reason, go from Scylla to Charybdis, and use that which is a help to their undoing. *Quid refert morbo an ferro pereamve ruina?*[2] [What matters whether illness or the sword or a falling building causes my death?] When the Black Prince went to set the exiled King of Castile into his kingdom, there was a terrible battle fought between the English and the Spanish: at last the Spanish fled, the English followed them to the river-side, where some drowned themselves to avoid their enemies, the rest were killed.[3] Now tell me what difference is between drowning and killing? As good be melancholy still, as drunken beasts and beggars. Company, a sole comfort, and an only remedy to all kind of discontent, is their sole misery and cause of perdition. As Hermione lamented in Euripides, *Malæ mulieres me fecerunt malam* [bad women have corrupted me], evil company marred her, may they justly complain, bad companions have been their bane. For, *malus malum vult ut sui similis*[4] [the bad man wants others to be like himself]; one drunkard in a company, one thief, one whoremaster, will by his good will make all the rest as bad as himself;

> *Etsi*
> *Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores,*[5]
>
> [Even though you swear you dread the damp night air,]

be of what complexion you will, inclination, love or hate, be it good or bad, if you come amongst them, you must do as they do; yea, though it be to the prejudice of your health, you must drink [1] *venenum pro vino* [poison for wine]. And so, like grasshoppers, whilst they sing over their cups all summer, they starve in winter; and for a little vain merriment shall find a sorrowful reckoning in the end.

SECT. III. MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*A Consolatory Digression, containing the Remedies of all manner of Discontents*

Because in the precedent section I have made mention of good counsel, comfortable speeches, persuasion, how necessarily they are required to the cure of a discontented or troubled mind, how present a remedy they yield, and many times a sole sufficient cure of themselves; I have thought fit, in this following section, a little to digress (if at least it be to digress in this subject), to collect and glean a few remedies and comfortable speeches out of our best orators, philosophers, divines, and Fathers of the Church, tending to this purpose. I confess, many have copiously written of this subject, Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Xenophon, Epictetus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Crantor, Lucian, Boethius: and some of late, Sadoletus, Cardan, Budæus, Stella, Petrarch, Erasmus, besides Austin, Cyprian, Bernard, etc. And they so well, that as Hierome in like case said, *si nostrum areret ingenium, de illorum posset fontibus irrigari*, if our barren wits were dried up, they might be copiously irrigated from those well-springs: and I shall but *actum agere* [go over beaten ground], yet, because these tracts are not so obvious and common, I will epitomize and briefly insert some of their divine precepts, reducing their voluminous and vast treatises to my small scale; for it were otherwise impossible to bring so great vessels into so little a creek. And although (as Cardan said of his book *de consol.*) "I know beforehand, this tract of mine many will contemn and reject; they that are fortunate, happy, and in flourishing estate have no need of such consolatory speeches; they that are miserable and unhappy think them unsufficient to ease their grieved minds and comfort their misery"; [2] yet I will go on; for this must needs do some good

to such as are happy, to bring them to a moderation, and make them reflect and know themselves, by seeing the inconstancy of human felicity, others' misery; and to such as are distressed, if they will but attend and consider of this, it cannot choose but give some content and comfort. 'Tis true, "no medicine can cure all diseases, some affections of the mind are altogether incurable; yet these helps of art, physic, and philosophy must not be contemned."[1] Arrianus and Plotinus are stiff in the contrary opinion, that such precepts can do little good. Boethius himself cannot comfort in some cases, they will reject such speeches like bread of stones, *Insana stultæ mentis hæc solatia.*[2]

"Words add no courage" (which Catiline once said to his soldiers),[3] "a captain's oration doth not make a coward a valiant man": and, as Job feelingly said to his friends, "You are but miserable comforters all."[4] 'Tis to no purpose in that vulgar phrase to use a company of obsolete sentences and familiar sayings: as Plinius Secundus,[5] being now sorrowful and heavy for the departure of his dear friend Cornelius Rufus, a Roman senator, wrote to his fellow Tiro in like case, *Adhibe solatia, sed nova aliqua, sed fortia, quæ audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam; nam quæ audivi, quæ legi omnia, tanto dolore superantur* [suggest new and strong grounds of comfort such as I never heard or read before; for all that I have heard or read is inadequate for my great grief], either say something that I never read nor heard of before, or else hold thy peace. Most men will here except: Trivial consolations, ordinary speeches, and known persuasions in this behalf will be of small force; what can any man say that hath not been said? To what end are such parænetical discourses? You may as soon remove Mount Caucasus as alter some men's affections. Yet sure I think they cannot choose but do some good, and comfort and ease a little; though it be the same again, I will say it, and upon that hope I will adventure. *Non meus hic sermo,*[6] 'tis not my speech this, but of Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Austin, Bernard, Christ and His Apostles. If I make nothing, as Montaigne said in like case,[7] I will mar nothing; 'tis not my doctrine but my study, I hope I shall do nobody wrong to speak what I think, and deserve not blame in imparting my mind. If it be not for thy ease, it may for mine own; so Tully, Cardan, and Boethius wrote *de consol.* as well to help themselves as others; be it as it may, I will essay.

Discontents and grievances are either general or particular; general are wars, plagues, dearths, famine, fires, inundations, unseasonable weather, epidemical diseases which afflict whole

kingdoms, territories, cities: or peculiar to private men, as cares, crosses, losses, death of friends, poverty, want, sickness, orbities, injuries, abuses, etc.,[1] generally all discontent, *homines quatimur fortunæ salo*[2] [we mortals are tossed on the tide of fortune]. No condition free, *quisque suos patimur manes* [each of us suffers his own fate]. Even in the midst of our mirth and jollity, there is some grudging, some complaint; as he saith,[3] our whole life is a *glucupicron*, a bitter-sweet passion, honey and gall mixed together, we are all miserable and discontent, who can deny it? If all, and that it be a common calamity, an inevitable necessity, all distressed, then, as Cardan infers, "who art thou that hopest to go free? Why dost thou not grieve thou art a mortal man, and not governor of the world?" [4] *Ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes, Nemo recuset.* "If it be common to all, why should one man be more disquieted than another?" [5] If thou alone wert distressed, it were indeed more irksome, and less to be endured; but when the calamity is common, comfort thyself with this, thou hast more fellows, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*; 'tis not thy sole case, and why shouldst thou be so impatient? "Ay, but, alas! we are more miserable than others; what shall we do? Besides private miseries, we live in perpetual fear and danger of common enemies: we have Bellona's whips, and pitiful outcries, for epithalamiums; for pleasant music, that fearful noise of ordnance, drums, and warlike trumpets still sounding in our ears; instead of nuptial torches, we have firing of towns and cities; for triumphs, lamentations; for joy, tears.[6] So it is, and so it was, and so it ever will be. He that refuseth to see and hear, to suffer this, is not fit to live in this world, and knows not the common condition of all men, to whom so long as they live, with a reciprocal course, joys and sorrows are annexed, and succeed one another." [7] It is inevitable, it may not be avoided, and why then shouldst thou be so much troubled? *Grave nihil est homini quod fert necessitas*, as Tully deems out of an old poet,[8] that which is necessary cannot be grievous. If it be so, then comfort thyself in this, "that, whether thou wilt or no, it must be endured":[9] make a virtue of necessity, and conform thyself to undergo it. *Si longa est, levis est; si gravis est, brevis est:*[10] if it be long, 'tis light; if grievous, it cannot last. It will away, *dies dolorem minuit*, and if naught else, time will wear it out; custom will ease it; oblivion is a common medicine for all losses, injuries, griefs, and detriments whatsoever,[11] "and when they are once past, this commodity comes of infelicity, it makes the rest of our life sweeter

unto us":[1] *atque hæc olim meminisse juvabit*[2] [some day we shall take pleasure in these memories]; "the privation and want of a thing many times makes it more pleasant and delightsome than before it was." We must not think the happiest of us all to escape here without some misfortunes:

> *Usque adeo nulla est sincera voluptas,*
> *Sollicitumque aliquid lætis intervenit.*[3]
>
> [Of a truth no pleasure is unmixed; in all joy there lurks some sorrow.]

Heaven and earth are much unlike; "Those heavenly bodies indeed are freely carried in their orbs without any impediment or interruption, to continue their course for innumerable ages, and make their conversions: but men are urged with many difficulties, and have divers hindrances, oppositions, still cross-ing, interrupting their endeavours and desires, and no mortal man is free from this law of nature."[4] We must not therefore hope to have all things answer our own expectation, to have a continuance of good success and fortunes; *Fortuna nunquam perpetuo est bona* [good fortune cannot last for ever]. And as Minucius Felix, the Roman consul, told that insulting Coriol-anus, drunk with his good fortunes, "Look not for that success thou hast hitherto had; it never yet happened to any man since the beginning of the world, nor ever will, to have all things according to his desire, or to whom fortune was never opposite and adverse."[5] Even so it fell out to him as he foretold. And so to others, even to that happiness of Augustus; though he were Jupiter's almoner, Pluto's treasurer, Neptune's admiral, it could not secure him. Such was Alcibiades' fortune, Narses', that great Gonsalvo's and most famous men's, that, as Jovius concludes,[6] "it is almost fatal to great princes, through their own default or otherwise circumvented with envy and malice, to lose their honours, and die contumeliously." 'Tis so, still hath been, and ever will be, *Nihil est ab omni parte beatum* [no happiness is complete],

> There 's no perfection is so absolute,
> That some impurity doth not pollute.

Whatsoever is under the moon is subject to corruption, altera-tion; and so long as thou livest upon earth look not for other. "Thou shalt not here find peaceable and cheerful days, quiet times, but rather clouds, storms, calumnies, such is our fate."[7] And as those errant planets in their distinct orbs have their

several motions, sometimes direct, stationary, retrograde, in apogee, perigee, oriental, occidental, combust, feral, free, and, as our astrologers will, have their fortitudes and debilities, by reason of those good and bad irradiations, conferred to each other's site in the heavens, in their terms, houses, case, detriments, etc.; so we rise and fall in this world, ebb and flow, in and out, reared and dejected, lead a troublesome life, subject to many accidents and casualties of fortunes, variety of passions, infirmities as well from ourselves as others.

Yea, but thou thinkest thou art more miserable than the rest, other men are happy in respect of thee, their miseries are but flea-bitings to thine, thou alone art unhappy, none so bad as thyself. Yet "if," as Socrates said, "all men in the world should come and bring their grievances together, of body, mind, fortune, sores, ulcers, madness, epilepsies, agues, and all those common calamities of beggary, want, servitude, imprisonment, and lay them on a heap to be equally divided, wouldst thou share alike, and take thy portion? or be as thou art? Without question thou wouldst be as thou art." [1] If some Jupiter should say, to give us all content,

Jam faciam quod vultis; eris tu, qui modo miles,
Mercator; tu consultus modo, rusticus; hinc vos,
Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus; eia!
Quid statis? nolint.[2]

Well, be 't so then; you, master soldier,
Shall be a merchant; you, sir lawyer,
A country gentleman: go you to this,
That side you; why stand ye? It 's well as 'tis.

"Every man knows his own, but not others' defects and miseries; and 'tis the nature of all men still to reflect upon themselves, their own misfortunes," [3] not to examine or consider other men's, not to confer themselves with others: to recount their miseries, but not their good gifts, fortunes, benefits, which they have, to ruminate on their adversity, but not once to think on their prosperity, not what they have, but what they want: to look still on them that go before, but not on those infinite numbers that come after. "Whereas many a man would think himself in heaven, a petty prince, if he had but the least part of that fortune which thou so much repinest at, abhorrest, and accountest a most vile and wretched estate." [4] How many thousands want that which thou hast! how many myriads of poor slaves, captives, of such as work day and night in coal-pits,

tin-mines, with sore toil to maintain a poor living, of such as labour in body and mind, live in extreme anguish and pain, all which thou art free from! *O fortunatos nimium bona si sua norint!* Thou art most happy if thou couldst be content, and acknowledge thy happiness. *Rem carendo, non fruendo cognoscimus* [we know the value of a thing when we miss it, not when we have it]; when thou shalt hereafter come to want that which thou now loathest, abhorrest, and art weary of and tired with, when 'tis past thou wilt say thou werest most happy: and, after a little miss, wish with all thine heart thou hadst the same content again, mightst lead but such a life, a world for such a life: the remembrance of it is pleasant. Be silent then, rest satisfied,[1] *desine, intuensque in aliorum infortunia solare mentem*, comfort thyself with other men's misfortunes, and, as the moldiwarp in Æsop told the fox, complaining for want of a tail, and the rest of his companions, *Tacete, quando me oculis captum videtis*, you complain of toys, but I am blind, be quiet; I say to thee, be thou satisfied. It is recorded [2] of the hares, that with a general consent they went to drown themselves, out of a feeling of their misery; but when they saw a company of frogs more fearful than they were, they began to take courage and comfort again. Confer thine estate with others. *Similes aliorum respice casus, mitius ista feres.* Be content and rest satisfied, for thou art well in respect to others: be thankful for that thou hast, that God hath done for thee, He hath not made thee a monster, a beast, a base creature, as He might, but a man, a Christian, such a man; consider aright of it, thou art full well as thou art. *Quicquid vult habere nemo potest*,[3] no man can have what he will, *illud potest nolle quod non habet*, he may choose whether he will desire that which he hath not. Thy lot is fallen, make the best of it. "If we should all sleep at all times" (as Endymion is said to have done), "who then were happier than his fellow?" [4] Our life is but short, a very dream, and while we look about, *immortalitas adest*,[4] eternity is at hand: "Our life is a pilgrimage on earth, which wise men pass with great alacrity." [6] If thou be in woe, sorrow, want, distress, in pain, or sickness, think of that of our apostle, "God chastiseth them whom he loveth." "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy" (Ps. cxxvi, 6). "As the furnace proveth the potter's vessel, so doth temptation try men's thoughts" (Ecclus. xxvii, 5); 'tis for thy good,[7] *periisses nisi periisses:* hadst thou not been so visited, thou hadst been utterly undone; "as gold in the fire," so men are tried in adversity. *Tribulatio ditat* [tribulation

enriches]: and, which Camerarius hath well shadowed in an emblem of a thresher and corn:

Si tritura absit paleis sunt abdita grana,
Nos crux mundanis separat a paleis.

As threshing separates from straw the corn,
By crosses from the world's chaff are we born.

'Tis the very same which Chrysostom comments, *Hom.* 2, *in* 3 *Matt.*: "Corn is not separated but by threshing, nor men from worldly impediments but by tribulation." [1] 'Tis that which Cyprian ingeminates, *Ser.* 4 *de immort.*[2] 'Tis that which Hierome, which all the Fathers inculcate: "So we are catechized for eternity." [3] 'Tis that which the proverb insinuates: *Nocumentum documentum* [hurting is teaching]; 'tis that which all the world rings into our ears. *Deus unicum habet filium sine peccato, nullum sine flagello:* God, saith Austin,[4] hath one son without sin, none without correction. "An expert seaman is tried in a tempest, a runner in a race, a captain in a battle, a valiant man in adversity, a Christian in tentation and misery" [5] (Basil, *Hom.* 8). We are sent as so many soldiers into this world, to strive with it, the flesh, the devil; our life is a warfare, and who knows it not? *Non est ad astra mollis e terris via* [6] [not easy is the way from earth to heaven]; "and therefore peradventure this world here is made troublesome unto us, that," as Gregory notes, "we should not be delighted by the way, and forget whither we are going." [7]

Ite nunc fortes, ubi celsa magni
Ducit exempli via; cur inertes
Terga nudatis? superata tellus
Sidera domat.[8]

[Advance now, ye brave, follow the lofty path of a great example. Why do you tamely show your backs? By conquering the earth you win the stars.]

Go on then merrily to heaven. If the way be troublesome, and you in misery, in many grievances, on the other side you have many pleasant sports, objects, sweet smells, delightsome tastes, music, meats, herbs, flowers, etc., to recreate your senses. Or put case thou art now forsaken of the world, dejected, contemned, yet comfort thyself; as it was said to Hagar in the wilderness, "God sees thee, he takes notice of thee": [9] there is a God above that can vindicate thy cause, that can relieve thee. And surely Seneca [10] thinks He takes delight in seeing thee: "The gods are

well pleased when they see great men contending with adversity," as we are to see men fight, or a man with a beast. But these are toys in respect. "Behold," saith he, "a spectacle worthy of God; a good man contented with his estate."[1] A tyrant is the best sacrifice to Jupiter, as the ancients held, and his best object a contented mind. For thy part then rest satisfied, "cast all thy care on him, thy burden on him, rely on him, trust on him, and he shall nourish thee, care for thee, give thee thine heart's desire";[2] say with David, "God is our hope and strength, in troubles ready to be found" (Ps. xlvi, 1). "For they that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed. As the mountains are about Jerusalem, so is the Lord about his people, from henceforth and for ever" (Ps. cxxv, 1, 2).

MEMB. II.

Deformity of Body, Sickness, Baseness of Birth, Peculiar Discontents

PARTICULAR discontents and grievances are either of body, mind, or fortune, which, as they wound the soul of man, produce this melancholy and many great inconveniences, by that antidote of good counsel and persuasion may be eased or expelled. Deformities and imperfections of our bodies, as lameness, crookedness, deafness, blindness, be they innate or accidental, torture many men; yet this may comfort them, that those imperfections of the body do not a whit blemish the soul, or hinder the operations of it, but rather help and much increase it. Thou art lame of body, deformed to the eye, yet this hinders not but that thou mayest be a good, a wise, upright, honest man. "Seldom," saith Plutarch,"honesty and beauty dwell together,"[3] and oftentimes under a threadbare coat lies an excellent understanding, *sæpe sub attrita latitat sapientia veste.* Cornelius Mussus,[4] that famous preacher in Italy, when he came first into the pulpit in Venice, was so much contemned by reason of his outside, a little, lean, poor, dejected person, they were all ready to leave the church; but when they heard his voice they did admire him,[5] and happy was that senator could enjoy his company, or invite him first to his house. A silly fellow to look to may have more wit, learning, honesty than he that struts it out *ampullis jactans* [talking big], etc., *grandia gradiens* [strutting

about], and is admired in the world's opinion. *Vilis sæpe cadus nobile nectar habet*, the best wine comes out of an old vessel. How many deformed princes, kings, emperors, could I reckon up, philosophers, orators! Hannibal had but one eye; Appius Claudius, Timoleon blind, Muleasses,[1] King of Tunis, John, King of Bohemia, and Tiresias the prophet. "The night hath his pleasure";[2] and for the loss of that one sense such men are commonly recompensed in the rest; they have excellent memories, other good parts, music, and many recreations; much happiness, great wisdom, as Tully well discourseth in his Tusculan Questions.[3] Homer was blind, yet who (saith he) made more accurate, lively, or better descriptions, with both his eyes? Democritus was blind, yet, as Laertius writes of him, he saw more than all Greece besides; as Plato concludes,[4] *Tum sane mentis oculus acute insipit cernere, quum primum corporis oculus deflorescit*, when our bodily eyes are at worst, generally the eyes of our soul see best. Some philosophers and divines have evirated themselves, and put out their eyes voluntarily, the better to contemplate. Angelus Politianus had a tetter in his nose continually running, fulsome in company, yet no man so eloquent and pleasing in his works. Æsop was crooked, Socrates purblind, long-legged, hairy, Democritus withered, Seneca lean and harsh, ugly to behold; yet show me so many flourishing wits, such divine spirits: Horace a little blear-eyed contemptible fellow, yet who so sententious and wise? Marsilius Ficinus, Faber Stapulensis, a couple of dwarfs, Melancthon a short hard-favoured man,[5] *parvus erat, sed magnus erat*, etc., yet of incomparable parts all three. Ignatius Loyola,[6] the founder of the Jesuits, by reason of a hurt he received in his leg at the siege of Pampeluna, the chief town of Navarre in Spain, unfit for wars and less serviceable at court, upon that accident betook himself to his beads, and by those means got more honour than ever he should have done with the use of his limbs and properness of person: *vulnus non penetrat animum*,[7] a wound hurts not the soul. Galba the emperor was crook-backed, Epictetus lame; that great Alexander a little man of stature, Augustus Cæsar of the same pitch;[8] Agesilaus *despicabili forma* [contemptible in appearance]; Boccharis a most deformed prince as ever Egypt had, yet, as Diodorus Siculus records of him,[9] in wisdom and knowledge far beyond his predecessors. *Anno Dom.* 1306, Uladislaus Cubitalis, that pigmy King of Poland, reigned and fought more victorious battles than any of his long-shanked predecessors.[10] *Nullam virtus respuit staturam*,

virtue refuseth no stature, and commonly your great vast bodies and fine features are sottish, dull, and leaden spirits. What 's in them? *Quid nisi pondus iners stolidæque ferocia mentis?*[1] [What but sheer bulk and stupid insolence?] What in Otus and Ephialtes (Neptune's sons in Homer), nine acres long?

> *Qui ut magnus Orion,*
> *Cum pedes incedit, medii per maxima Nerei*
> *Stagna, viam findens humero supereminet undas.*[2]
>
> [Like tall Orion stalking o'er the flood:
> When with his brawny breast he cuts the waves.
> His shoulder scarce the topmost billow laves.]

What in Maximinus, Ajax, Caligula, and the rest of those great Zamzummims,[3] or gigantical Anakims, heavy, vast, barbarous lubbers?

> *Si membra tibi dant grandia Parcæ,*
> *Mentis eges.*
>
> [If the Fates give thee huge limbs,
> thou art short of wit.]

Their body, saith Lemnius,[4] "is a burden to them, and their spirits not so lively, nor they so erect and merry." *Non est in magno corpore mica salis* [there is no spark of wit in a huge frame]: a little diamond is more worth than a rocky mountain: which made Alexander Aphrodisiæus positively conclude, "The lesser, the wiser, because the soul was more contracted in such a body."[5] Let Bodine in his 5*th cap. Method. hist.* plead the rest: the lesser they are, as in Asia, Greece, they have generally the finest wits. And for bodily stature, which some so much admire, and goodly presence, 'tis true, to say the best of them, great men are proper, and tall, I grant, *caput inter nubila condunt* [hide their heads in the clouds]; but *belli pusilli*, little men are pretty: *Sed si bellus homo est Cotta, pusillus homo est* [if Cotta is a pretty man, he is also a little man]. Sickness, diseases, trouble many, but without a cause; "It may be 'tis for the good of their souls";[6] *pars fati fuit* ['twas part of their destiny], the flesh rebels against the spirit; that which hurts the one must needs help the other. Sickness is the mother of modesty, putteth us in mind of our mortality; and when we are in the full career of wordly pomp and jollity, she pulleth us by the ear, and maketh us know ourselves. Pliny[7] calls it the sum of philosophy, "if we could but perform that in our health, which we promise in our sickness." *Quum infirmi sumus, optimi sumus* [when we are sick we are most virtuous]; for "what sick man" (as

Secundus expostulates with Rufus[1]) "was ever lascivious, covetous, or ambitious? he envies no man, admires no man, flatters no man, despiseth no man, listens not after lies and tales," etc. And were it not for such gentle remembrances, men would have no moderation of themselves, they would be worse than tigers, wolves, and lions: who should keep them in awe? "Princes, masters, parents, magistrates, judges, friends, enemies, fair or foul means cannot contain us, but a little sickness" (as Chrysostom observes) "will correct and amend us."[2] And therefore, with good discretion, Jovianus Pontanus caused his short sentence to be engraven on his tomb in Naples: "Labour, sorrow, grief, sickness, want and woe, to serve proud masters, bear that superstitious yoke, and bury your dearest friends, etc., are the sauces of our life."[3] If thy disease be continuate and painful to thee, it will not surely last; "and a light affliction, which is but for a moment, causeth unto us a far more excellent and eternal weight of glory" (2 Cor. iv, 17). Bear it with patience; women endure much sorrow in childbed, and yet they will not contain; and those that are barren wish for this pain; "be courageous, there is as much valour to be shown in thy bed as in an army or at a sea fight": [4] *aut vincetur, aut vincet* [he will either be victor or vanquished], thou shalt be rid at last. In the meantime, let it take its course, thy mind is not anyway disabled. Bilibaldus Pirkimerus,[5] senator to Charles the Fifth, ruled all Germany, lying most part of his days sick of the gout upon his bed. The more violent thy torture is, the less it will continue: and though it be severe and hideous for the time, comfort thyself as martyrs do, with honour and immortality. That famous philosopher Epicurus, being in as miserable pain of stone and colic as a man might endure, solaced himself with a conceit of immortality; "the joy of his soul for his rare inventions repelled the pain of his bodily torments."[6]

Baseness of birth is a great disparagement to some men, especially if they be wealthy, bear office, and come to promotion in a commonwealth; then (as he[7] observes) if their birth be not answerable to their calling and to their fellows, they are much abashed and ashamed of themselves. Some scorn their own father and mother, deny brothers and sisters, with the rest of their kindred and friends, and will not suffer them to come near them when they are in their pomp, accounting it a scandal to their greatness to have such beggarly beginnings. Simon in Lucian, having now got a little wealth, changed his name from

Simon to Simonides, for that there were so many beggars of his kin, and set the house on fire where he was born, because nobody should point at it. Others buy titles, coats of arms, and by all means screw themselves into ancient families, falsifying pedigrees, usurping scutcheons, and all because they would not seem to be base. The reason is, for that this gentility is so much admired by a company of outsides, and such honour attributed unto it, as amongst Germans,[1] Frenchmen, and Venetians, the gentry scorn the commonalty, and will not suffer them to match with them; they depress, and make them as so many asses, to carry burdens. In our ordinary talk and fallings out, the most opprobrious and scurrile name we can fasten upon a man, or first give, is to call him base rogue, beggarly rascal, and the like: whereas, in my judgment, this ought of all other grievances to trouble men least. Of all vanities and fopperies, to brag of gentility is the greatest; for what is it they crack so much of, and challenge such superiority, as if they were demi-gods? Birth? *Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?* [Do ye presume so much on your descent?] It is *non ens*, a mere flash, a ceremony, a toy, a thing of naught. Consider the beginning, present estate, progress, ending of gentry, and then tell me what it is. "Oppression, fraud, cozening, usury, knavery, bawdry, murder, and tyranny, are the beginning of many ancient families.[2] One hath been a blood-sucker, a parricide, the death of many a silly soul in some unjust quarrels, seditions, made many an orphan and poor widow, and for that he is made a lord or an earl, and his posterity gentlemen for ever after.[3] Another hath been a bawd, a pander to some great men, a parasite, a slave, prostituted himself, his wife, daughter,"[4] to some lascivious prince, and for that he is exalted. Tiberius preferred many to honours in his time, because they were famous whoremasters and sturdy drinkers; many come into this parchment-row (so one calls it [5]) by flattery or cozening; search your old families, and you shall scarce find of a multitude (as Æneas Sylvius observes) *qui sceleratum non habent ortum*, that have not a wicked beginning; *aut qui vi et dolo eo fastigii non ascendunt* [or who did not reach their present position through violence or deceit], as that plebeian in Machiavel in a set oration proved to his fellows, that do not rise by knavery, force, foolery, villainy, or such indirect means. "They are commonly able that are wealthy; virtue and riches seldom settle on one man: who then sees not the base beginning of nobility? spoils enrich one, usury another, treason a third, witchcraft a fourth, flattery a

fifth, lying, stealing, bearing false witness a sixth, adultery the seventh,"[1] etc. One makes a fool of himself to make his lord merry, another dandles my young master, bestows a little nag on him, a third marries a cracked piece, etc. Now may it please your good worship, your lordship, who was the first founder of your family? The poet answers, *Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo*[2] [he was either a shepherd or something which I prefer not to mention]. Are he or you the better gentleman? If he, then we have traced him to his form. If you, what is it of which thou boastest so much? That thou art his son. It may be his heir, his reputed son, and yet indeed a priest or a serving-man may be the true father of him; but we will not controvert that now; married women are all honest; thou art his son's son's son, begotten and born *intra quatuor maria* [within the four seas], etc. Thy great-great-great-grandfather was a rich citizen, and then in all likelihood a usurer, a lawyer, and then a ——, a courtier, and then a ——, a country gentleman, and then he scraped it out of sheep, etc. And you are the heir of all his virtues, fortunes, titles; so then, what is your gentry but, as Hierome saith, *opes antiquæ, inveteratæ divitiæ*, ancient wealth? that is the definition of gentility. The father goes often to the devil to make his son a gentleman. For the present, what is it? "It began" (saith Agrippa[3]) "with strong impiety, with tyranny, oppression," etc., and so it is maintained: wealth began it (no matter how got), wealth continueth and increaseth it. Those Roman knights were so called, if they could dispend *per annum* so much. In the kingdom of Naples and France, he that buys such lands buys the honour, title, barony together with it;[4] and they that can dispend so much amongst us must be called to bear office, to be knights, or fine for it; as one observes, *nobiliorum ex censu judicant*,[5] our nobles are measured by their means. And what now is the object of honour? What maintains our gentry but wealth? *Nobilitas sine re projecta vilior alga*,[6] without means gentry is naught worth; nothing so contemptible and base. *Disputare de nobilitate generis, sine divitiis, est disputare de nobilitate stercoris*, saith Nevisanus the lawyer,[7] to dispute of gentry without wealth is (saving your reverence) to discuss the original of a mard. So that it is wealth alone that denominates, money which maintains it, gives *esse* to it, for which every man may have it. And what is their ordinary exercise? "Sit to eat, drink, lie down to sleep, and rise to play."[8] Wherein lies their worth and sufficiency? In a few coats of arms, eagles,

lions, serpents, bears, tigers, dogs, crosses, bends, fesses, etc., and such-like baubles, which they commonly set up in their galleries, porches, windows, on bowls, platters, coaches, in tombs, churches, men's sleeves, etc. "If he can hawk and hunt, ride a horse, play at cards and dice, swagger, drink, swear," [1] take tobacco with a grace, sing, dance, wear his clothes in fashion, court and please his mistress, talk big fustian, insult, scorn, strut, contemn others,[2] and use a little mimical and apish complement above the rest, he is a complete (*Egregiam vero laudem* [a truly noble compliment]), a well-qualified gentleman; these are most of their employments, this their greatest commendation. What is gentry, this parchment nobility then, but, as Agrippa defines it, "a sanctuary of knavery and naughtiness, a cloak for wickedness and execrable vices, of pride, fraud, contempt, boasting, oppression, dissimulation, lust, gluttony, malice, fornication, adultery, ignorance, impiety"? [3] A nobleman therefore, in some likelihood, as he concludes, is "an atheist, an oppressor, an epicure, a gull,[4] a dizzard, an illiterate idiot, an outside, a glow-worm, a proud fool, an arrant ass," *ventris et inguinis mancipium*, a slave to his lust and belly, *solaque libidine fortis*. And as Salvianus observed of his countrymen the Aquitanes in France; *Sicut titulis primi fuere, sic et vitiis* [as they were the first in rank, so also in rottenness]; and Cabinet du Roy, their own writer, distinctly of the rest: "the nobles of Berry are most part lechers, they of Touraine thieves, they of Narbonne covetous, they of Guienne coiners, they of Provence atheists, they of Rheims superstitious, they of Lyons treacherous, of Normandy proud, of Picardy insolent," etc.; we may generally conclude, the greater men, the more vicious. In fine, as Æneas Sylvius adds,[5] "they are most part miserable, sottish, and filthy fellows, like the walls of their houses, fair without, foul within." What dost thou vaunt of now? "What dost thou gape and wonder at? admire him for his brave apparel, horses, dogs, fine houses, manors, orchards, gardens, walks? Why, a fool may be possessor of this as well as he; and he that accounts him a better man, a nobleman for having of it, he is a fool himself." [6] Now go and brag of thy gentility. This is it belike which makes the Turks at this day scorn nobility,[7] and all those huffing bombast titles which so much elevate their poles; except it be such as have got it at first, maintain it by some supereminent quality or excellent worth. And for this cause, the Ragusian commonwealth, Switzers, and the United Provinces, in all their aristocracies, or democratical monarchies (if I may so

call them), exclude all these degrees of hereditary honours, and will admit of none to bear office, but such as are learned, like those Athenian Areopagites, wise, discreet, and well brought up. The Chinenses[1] observe the same customs; no man amongst them noble by birth; out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates: their politic nobles are taken from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, virtuous noble; *nobilitas ut olim ab officio, non a natura* [nobility, as of old, is derived from office, not from birth], as in Israel of old, and their office was to defend and govern their country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their *Loysii*, *Mandarini*, *literati*, *licentiati*, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their noblemen only, thought fit to govern a state; and why then should any that is otherwise of worth be ashamed of his birth? why should not he be as much respected that leaves a noble posterity, as he that hath had noble ancestors? nay, why not more? for *plures solem orientem*, we adore the sun rising most part; and how much better is it to say, *Ego meis majoribus virtute præluxi* [I have outshone my ancestors in virtue], to boast himself of his virtues, than of his birth? Cathesbeius, Sultan of Egypt and Syria, was by his condition a slave, but for worth, valour, and manhood second to no king, and for that cause (as Jovius writes[2]) elected Emperor of the Mamelukes. That poor Spanish Pizarro for his valour made by Charles the Fifth Marquess of Anatillo; the Turkey bassas are all such. Pertinax, Philippus Arabs, Maximinus, Probus, Aurelius, etc., from common soldiers, became emperors; Cato, Cincinnatus, etc., consuls; Pius Secundus, Sixtus Quintus, Johannes Secundus, Nicholas Quintus, etc., popes. Socrates, Virgil, Horace, *libertino patre natus* [the son of a freedman]. The kings of Denmark fetch their pedigree, as some say,[3] from one Ulfo, that was the son of a bear. *E tenui casa sæpe vir magnus exit*,[4] many a worthy man comes out of a poor cottage. Hercules, Romulus, Alexander (by Olympia's confession), Themistocles, Jugurtha, King Arthur, William the Conqueror, Homer, Demosthenes, P. Lombard, P. Comestor, Bartholus, Adrian the Fourth, Pope, etc., bastards; and almost in every kingdom the most ancient families have been at first princes' bastards; their worthiest captains, best wits, greatest scholars, bravest spirits in all our annals, have been base. Cardan, in his Subtleties, gives a reason why they are most part better able than others in body and mind, and so, *per consequens*, more fortunate.[5] Castruccius Castrucanus, a poor

child, found in the field, exposed to misery, became Prince of Lucca and Senes in Italy, a most complete soldier and worthy captain; Machiavel compares him to Scipio or Alexander. "And 'tis a wonderful thing" (saith he [1]) "to him that shall consider of it, that all those, or the greatest part of them, that have done the bravest exploits here upon earth, and excelled the rest of the nobles of their time, have been still born in some abject, obscure place, or of base and obscure abject parents." A most memorable observation, Scaliger [2] accounts it, *et non prætereundum, maximorum virorum plerosque patres ignoratos, matres impudicas fuisse* [and not to be passed over, that for the most part the fathers of the greatest men were unknown and their mothers unchaste]. "I could recite a great catalogue of them," every kingdom, every province will yield innumerable examples; and why then should baseness of birth be objected to any man? Who thinks worse of Tully for being *Arpinas* [from Arpinum], an upstart? Or Agathocles, that Sicilian king, for being a potter's son? Iphicrates and Marius were meanly born. What wise man thinks better of any person for his nobility? as he said in Machiavel,[3] *omnes eodem patre nati* [all descended from one ancestor], Adam's sons, conceived all and born in sin, etc. "We are by nature all as one, all alike, if you see us naked; let us wear theirs and they our clothes, and what 's the difference?" To speak truth, as Bale did of P. Schalichius,[4] "I more esteem thy worth, learning, honesty, than thy nobility; honour thee more that thou art a writer, a doctor of divinity, than Earl of the Huns, Baron of Skradine, or hast title to such and such provinces," etc. "Thou art more fortunate and great" (so Jovius writes [5] to Cosmus Medices, then Duke of Florence) "for thy virtues, than for thy lovely wife and happy children, friends, fortunes, or great duchy of Tuscany." So I account thee; and who doth not so indeed? Abdolonymus was a gardener, and yet by Alexander for his virtues made King of Syria.[6] How much better is it to be born of mean parentage, and to excel in worth, to be morally noble, which is preferred before that natural nobility, by divines, philosophers, and politicians,[7] to be learned, honest, discreet, well qualified, to be fit for any manner of employment, in country and commonwealth, war and peace, than to be *degeneres Neoptolemi* [degenerate Neoptolemuses], as many brave nobles are, only wise because rich, otherwise idiots, illiterate, unfit for any manner of service! Udalricus, Earl of Cilia, upbraided John Huniades with the baseness of his birth, but he replied,

In te Ciliensis comitatus turpiter extinguitur, in me gloriose Bistricensis exoritur, thine earldom is consumed with riot, mine begins with honour and renown.[1] Thou hast had so many noble ancestors; what is that to thee? *Vix ea nostra voco* [I scarce call that ours], when thou art a dizzard thyself: [2] *Quid prodest, Pontice, longo stemmate censeri?* [What boots it, Ponticus, to have an ancestry?], etc. I conclude, hast thou a sound body, and a good soul, good bringing up? Art thou virtuous, honest, learned, well-qualified, religious, are thy conditions good? Thou art a true nobleman, perfectly noble, although born of Thersites, *dummodo tu sis Æacidæ similis, non natus, sed factus* [provided thou be like Achilles, not born so but made], noble κατ' ἐξοχὴν [in the truest sense of the word], "for neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor sickness, nor outward violence, nor the devil himself can take thy good parts from thee." [3] Be not ashamed of thy birth then, thou art a gentleman all the world over, and shalt be honoured, whenas he, strip him of his fine clothes, dispossess him of his wealth,[4] is a funge (which Polynices in his banishment found true by experience, gentry was not esteemed [5]), like a piece of coin in another country, that no man will take, and shall be contemned. Once more, though thou be a barbarian, born at Tontonteac, a villain, a slave, a Saldanian negro, or a rude Virginian in Dasamonquepeuc, he a French monsieur, a Spanish don, a seignior of Italy, I care not how descended, of what family, of what order, baron, count, prince, if thou be well qualified, and he not, but a degenerate Neoptolemus, I tell thee in a word, thou art a man, and he is a beast.

Let no *terræ filius*, or upstart, insult at this which I have said, no worthy gentleman take offence. I speak it not to detract from such as are well deserving, truly virtuous and noble: I do much respect and honour true gentry and nobility; I was born of worshipful parents myself, in an ancient family, but I am a younger brother, it concerns me not: or had I been some great heir, richly endowed, so minded as I am, I should not have been elevated at all, but so esteemed of it as of all other human happiness, honours, etc.; they have their period, are brittle and unconstant. As he said of that great river Danubius, it riseth from a small fountain, a little brook at first, sometimes broad, sometimes narrow, now slow, then swift, increased at last to an incredible greatness by the confluence of sixty navigable rivers; it vanisheth in conclusion, loseth his name, and is suddenly swallowed up of the Euxine Sea: [6] I may say of our greatest families, they were mean at first, augmented by rich

marriages, purchases, offices, they continue for some ages, with some little alteration of circumstances, fortunes, places, etc.; by some prodigal son, for some default, or for want of issue they are defaced in an instant, and their memory blotted out.

So much in the meantime I do attribute to gentility, that if he be well-descended, of worshipful or noble parentage, he will express it in his conditions:

Nec enim feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbas.

[For fierce eagles beget not timid doves.]

And although the nobility of our times be much like our coins, more in number and value, but less in weight and goodness, with finer stamps, cuts, or outsides than of old, yet if he retain those ancient characters of true gentry, he will be more affable, courteous, gently disposed, of fairer carriage, better temper, or a more magnanimous, heroical, and generous spirit, than that *vulgus hominum*, those ordinary boors and peasants, *qui adeo improbi, agrestes, et inculti plerumque sunt, ne dicam malitiosi, ut nemini ullum humanitatis officium præstent, ne ipsi Deo si advenerit*, as one [1] observes of them, a rude, brutish, uncivil, wild, a currish generation, cruel and malicious, uncapable of discipline, and such as have scarce common sense. And it may be generally spoken of all, which Lemnius the physician said of his travel into England,[2] the common people were silly, sullen, dogged clowns, *sed mitior nobilitas, ad omne humanitatis officium paratissima*, the gentlemen were courteous and civil. If it so fall out (as often it doth) that such peasants are preferred by reason of their wealth, chance, error, etc., or otherwise, yet (as the cat in the fable, when she was turned to a fair maid, would play with mice) a cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown, he will likely savour of the stock whence he came, and that innate rusticity can hardly be shaken off.

Licet superbus ambulet pecunia,
Fortuna non mutat genus.[3]

[Let him strut as proudly as he will, his fortune does not change his birth.]

And though by their education such men may be better qualified and more refined, yet there be many symptoms by which they may likely be descried, an affected phantastical carriage, a tailor-like spruceness, a peculiar garb in all their proceedings; choicer than ordinary in his diet, and, as Hierome [4] well describes such a one to his Nepotian: "An upstart born in a base cottage,

that scarce at first had coarse bread to fill his hungry guts, must now feed on kickshaws and made dishes, will have all variety of flesh and fish, the best oysters," etc. A beggar's brat will be commonly more scornful, imperious, insulting, insolent, than another man of his rank: "Nothing so intolerable as a fortunate fool," [1] as Tully found long since out of his experience. *Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum*, set a beggar on horseback, and he will ride a gallop, a gallop, etc.

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> *Dum se posse putat, nec bellua sævior ulla est,*
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> [He rages against all as long as he thinks he has power; no wild beast so savage as a slave venting his fury on the free;]

he forgets what he was, domineers, etc., and many such other symptoms he hath, by which you may know him from a true gentleman. Many errors and obliquities are on both sides, noble, ignoble, *factis*, *natis* [made or born so]; yet still in all callings, as some degenerate, some are well deserving, and most worthy of their honours. And as Busbequius said of Solyman the Magnificent, he was *tanto dignus imperio*, worthy of that great empire. Many meanly descended are most worthy of their honour, *politice nobiles* [ennobled through their statesmanship], and well deserve it. Many of our nobility so born (which one said of Hephæstion, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Antigonus, etc., and the rest of Alexander's followers, they were all worthy to be monarchs and generals of armies) deserve to be princes. And I am so far forth of Sesellius his mind,[3] that they ought to be preferred (if capable) before others, "as being nobly born, ingenuously brought up, and from their infancy trained to all manner of civility." For learning and virtue in a nobleman is more eminent, and, as a jewel set in gold is more precious, and much to be respected; such a man deserves better than others, and is as great an honour to his family as his noble family to him. In a word, many noblemen are an ornament to their order: many poor men's sons are singularly well endowed, most eminent, and well deserving for their worth, wisdom, learning, virtue, valour, integrity; excellent members and pillars of a commonwealth. And therefore, to conclude that which I first intended, to be base by birth, meanly born, is no such disparagement. *Et sic demonstratur, quod erat demonstrandum* [and so what was to be proved has been proved].

MEMB. III.

Against Poverty and Want, with such other Adversities

ONE of the greatest miseries that can befall a man, in the world's esteem, is poverty or want, which makes men steal, bear false witness, swear, forswear, contend, murder and rebel, which breaketh sleep, and causeth death itself. *οὐδὲν πενίας βαρύτερόν ἐστι φορτίον*,[1] no burden (saith Menander) so intolerable as poverty: it makes men desperate, it erects and dejects, *census honores*, *census amicitias* [money procures honours, money procures friendships]; money makes, but poverty mars, etc., and all this in the world's esteem: yet, if considered aright, it is a great blessing in itself, a happy estate, and yields no cause of discontent, or that men should therefore account themselves vile, hated of God, forsaken, miserable, unfortunate. Christ Himself was poor, born in a manger, and had not a house to hide His head in all His life, "lest any man should make poverty a judgment of God, or an odious estate."[2] And as He was himself, so He informed His apostles and disciples, they were all poor, prophets poor, apostles poor (Acts iii, "Silver and gold have I none"). "As sorrowing" (saith Paul) "and yet always rejoicing; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things" (1 Cor. vi, 10). Your great philosophers have been voluntarily poor, not only Christians, but many others. Crates Thebanus was adored for a god in Athens, "a nobleman by birth, many servants he had, an honourable attendance, much wealth, many manors, fine apparel; but when he saw this, that all the wealth of the world was but brittle, uncertain and no whit availing to live well, he flung his burden into the sea, and renounced his estate."[3] Those Curii and Fabricii will be ever renowned for contempt of these fopperies, wherewith the world is so much affected. Amongst Christians I could reckon up many kings and queens that have forsaken their crowns and fortunes, and wilfully abdicated themselves from these so much esteemed toys; many that have refused honours, titles, and all this vain pomp and happiness, which others so ambitiously seek, and carefully study to compass and attain.[4] Riches, I deny not, are God's good gifts and blessings; and *honor est in honorante*, honours are from God; both rewards of virtue, and fit to be sought after, sued for, and may well be possessed: yet no such great happiness in having, or misery in wanting of them. *Dantur quidem bonis*, saith Austin, *ne quis mala æstimet:*

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malis autem ne quis nimis bona, good men have wealth that we should not think it evil, and bad men that they should not rely on or hold it so good; as the rain falls on both sorts, so are riches given to good and bad, *sed bonis in bonum*, but they are good only to the godly. But confer both estates, for natural parts they are not unlike;[1] and a beggar's child, as Cardan well observes,[2] "is no whit inferior to a prince's, most part better"; and for those accidents of fortune, it will easily appear there is no such odds, no such extraordinary happiness in the one, or misery in the other. He is rich, wealthy, fat; what gets he by it? pride, insolency, lust, ambition, cares, fears, suspicion, trouble, anger, emulation, and many filthy diseases of body and mind. He hath indeed variety of dishes, better fare, sweet wine, pleasant sauce, dainty music, gay clothes, lords it bravely out, etc., and all that which Micyllus admired in Lucian;[3] but with them he hath the gout, dropsies, apoplexies, palsies, stone, pox, rheums, catarrhs, crudities, oppilations, melancholy, etc.;[4] lust enters in, anger, ambition; according to Chrysostom, "the sequel of riches is pride, riot, intemperance, arrogancy, fury, and all irrational courses."[5]

Turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu
Divitiæ molles.[6]

[Effeminate riches have corrupted the age with base luxury,]

with their variety of dishes, many such maladies of body and mind get in, which the poor man knows not of. As Saturn, in Lucian,[7] answered the discontented commonalty (which, because of their neglected Saturnal feasts in Rome, made a grievous complaint and exclamation against rich men) that they were much mistaken in supposing such happiness in riches; 'You see the best" (said he) "but you know not their several gripings and discontents":[8] they are like painted walls, fair without, rotten within: diseased, filthy, crazy, full of intemperance's effects; "and who can reckon half? if you but knew their fears, cares, anguish of mind, and vexation, to which they are subject, you would hereafter renounce all riches."[9]

O si pateant pectora divitum
Quantos intus sublimis agit
Fortuna metus! Bruttia Coro
Pulsante fretum mitior unda est.[10]

O that their breasts were but conspicuous,
How full of fear within, how furious!
The narrow seas are not so boisterous.

Yea, but he hath the world at will that is rich, the good things of the earth: *suave est de magno tollere acervo* [it is sweet to draw from a great heap], he is a happy man, adored like a god,[1] a prince, every man seeks to him, applauds, honours, admires him. He hath honours indeed, abundance of all things; but (as I said) withal "pride, lust, anger, faction, emulation, fears, cares, suspicion enter with his wealth";[2] for his intemperance he hath aches, crudities, gouts, and, as fruits of his idleness and fullness, lust, surfeiting, and drunkenness, all manner of diseases: *pecuniis augetur improbitas*, the wealthier, the more dishonest. "He is exposed to hatred, envy, peril, and treason, fear of death, degradation,"[3] etc.; 'tis *lubrica statio et proxima præcipitio* [a slippery position, on the edge of a precipice], and the higher he climbs, the greater is his fall.

Celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes,[4]

the lightning commonly sets on fire the highest towers; in the more eminent place he is, the more subject to fall.[5]

Rumpitur innumeris arbos uberrima pomis,
Et subito nimiæ præcipitantur opes.

As a tree that is heavy laden with fruit breaks her own boughs, with their own greatness they ruin themselves; which Joachimus Camerarius hath elegantly expressed in his 13th Emblem, *cent.* 1. *Inopem se copia fecit* [plenty has led to want]. Their means is their misery, though they do apply themselves to the times, to lie, dissemble, collogue and flatter their lieges, obey, second his will and commands, as much as may be, yet too frequently they miscarry, they fat themselves like so many hogs, as Æneas Sylvius observes,[6] that when they are full fed, they may be devoured by their princes, as Seneca by Nero was served, Sejanus by Tiberius, and Haman by Ahasuerus. I resolve with Gregory, *potestas culminis est tempestas mentis; et quo dignitas altior, casus gravior*, honour is a tempest, the higher they are elevated, the more grievously depressed. For the rest of his prerogatives which wealth affords, as he hath more, his expenses are the greater. "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them; and what good cometh to the owners, but the beholding thereof with the eyes?" (Eccles. v, 11)

Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
Non tuus hinc capiet venter plus quam meus.[7]

[Though endless corn come to your threshing floor,
You can, like me, but eat your fill, no more.]

"An evil sickness," Solomon calls it, "and reserved to them for an evil" (13th verse). "They that will be rich fall into many fears and temptations, into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition" (1 Tim. vi, 9). "Gold and silver hath destroyed many" (Ecclus. viii, 2). *Divitiæ sæculi sunt laquei diaboli:* so writes Bernard; worldly wealth is the devil's bait: and as the moon when she is fuller of light is still farthest from the sun, the more wealth they have, the farther they are commonly from God. (If I had said this of myself, rich men would have pulled me a-pieces; but hear who saith, and who seconds it, an Apostle.) Therefore St. James bids them "weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon them; their gold shall rust and canker, and eat their flesh as fire" (James v, 1, 2, 3). I may then boldly conclude with Theodoret,[1] *Quotiescunque divitiis affluentem*, etc., "As often as you shall see a man abounding in wealth," *qui gemmis bibit et Sarrano dormit in ostro* [who drinks from jewelled cups and sleeps on purple], "and naught withal, I beseech you call him not happy, but esteem him unfortunate, because he hath many occasions offered to live unjustly; on the other side, a poor man is not miserable if he be good, but therefore happy that those evil occasions are taken from him."

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum; rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque leto flagitium timet.[2]

He is not happy that is rich,
And hath the world at will,
But he that wisely can God's gifts
Possess and use them still:
That suffers and with patience
Abides hard poverty,
And chooseth rather for to die;
Than do such villainy.

Wherein now consists his happiness? What privileges hath he more than other men? Or rather what miseries, what cares and discontents hath he not more than other men?

Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.[3]

Nor treasures, nor mayors' officers remove
The miserable tumults of the mind:
Or cares that lie about, or fly above
Their high-roofed houses, with huge beams combin'd.

'Tis not his wealth can vindicate him, let him have Job's inventory, *sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus aureas undas agens, eripiat unquam e miseriis*, Crœsus or rich Crassus cannot now command health, or get himself a stomach. "His worship," as Apuleius describes him,[1] "in all his plenty and great provision, is forbidden to eat, or else hath no appetite" (sick in bed, can take no rest, sore grieved with some chronic disease, contracted with full diet and ease, or troubled in mind), "whenas, in the meantime, all his household are merry, and the poorest servant that he keeps doth continually feast." 'Tis *bracteata felicitas*, as Seneca terms it,[2] tinfoiled happiness, *infelix felicitas*, an unhappy kind of happiness, if it be happiness at all. His gold, guard, clattering of harness, and fortifications against outward enemies, cannot free him from inward fears and cares.

Reveraque metus hominum, curæque sequaces
Nec metuunt fremitus armorum, aut ferrea tela,
Audacterque inter reges regumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.

Indeed men still attending fears and cares
Nor armours clashing, nor fierce weapons fears:
With kings converse they boldly, and kings' peers,
Fearing no flashing that from gold appears.

Look how many servants he hath, and so many enemies he suspects; for liberty he entertains ambition; his pleasures are no pleasures; and that which is worst, he cannot be private or enjoy himself as other men do, his state is a servitude. A countryman may travel from kingdom to kingdom, province to province, city to city, and glut his eyes with delightful objects, hawk, hunt, and use those ordinary disports, without any notice taken, all which a prince or a great man cannot do.[3] He keeps in for state, *ne majestatis dignitas evilescat* [in order not to make his royal dignity cheap], as our China kings, of Borneo, and Tartarian Chams, those *aurea mancipia* [golden slaves], are said to do, seldom or never seen abroad, *ut major sit hominum erga se observantia* [to inspire greater respect in their subjects], which the Persian kings so precisely observed of old.[4] A poor man takes more delight in an ordinary meal's meat, which he hath but seldom, than they do with all their exotic

dainties and continual viands; *Quippe voluptatem commendat rarior usus*, 'tis the rarity and necessity that makes a thing acceptable and pleasant. Darius, put to flight by Alexander, drank puddle water to quench his thirst, and it was pleasanter, he swore, than any wine or mead. All excess, as Epictetus argues,[1] will cause a dislike; sweet will be sour, which made that temperate Epicurus sometimes voluntarily fast. But they, being always accustomed to the same dishes (which are nastily dressed by slovenly cooks, that after their obscenities never wash their bawdy hands[2]), be they fish, flesh, compounded, made dishes, or whatsoever else, are therefore cloyed; nectar's self grows loathsome to them, they are weary of all their fine palaces, they are to them but as so many prisons. A poor man drinks in a wooden dish, and eats his meat in wooden spoons, wooden platters, earthen vessels, and such homely stuff: the other in gold, silver, and precious stones; but with what success? *In auro bibitur venenum*, fear of poison in the one, security in the other. A poor man is able to write, to speak his mind, to do his own business himself; *locuples mittit parasitum*, saith Philostratus,[3] a rich man employs a parasite, and, as the mayor of a city, speaks by the town clerk, or by Mr. Recorder, when he cannot express himself. Nonius the senator[4] hath a purple coat as stiff with jewels as his mind is full of vices; rings on his fingers worth 20,000 sesterces, and as Perozes the Persian king,[5] an union in his ear worth an hundred pounds' weight of gold: Cleopatra hath whole boars and sheep served up to her table at once, drinks jewels dissolved, 40,000 sesterces in value;[6] but to what end?

> *Num tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris*
> *Pocula?*[7]

Doth a man that is adry desire to drink in gold? Doth not a cloth suit become him as well, and keep him as warm, as all their silks, satins, damasks, taffeties and tissues? Is not homespun cloth as great a preservative against cold as a coat of Tartar lamb's-wool, dyed in grain, or a gown of giants' beards? Nero, saith Suetonius,[8] never put on one garment twice, and thou hast scarce one to put on? what 's the difference? one 's sick, the other sound: such is the whole tenor of their lives, and that which is the consummation and upshot of all, death itself, makes the greatest difference. One like a hen feeds on the dunghill all his days, but is served up at last to his Lord's table; the other as a falcon is fed with partridge and pigeons, and carried

on his master's fist, but when he dies is flung to the muckhill, and there lies. The rich man lives like Dives jovially here on earth, *temulentus divitiis* [drunk with riches], makes the best of it; and "boasts himself in the multitude of his riches" (Ps. xlix, 6); he thinks his house, "called after his own name," shall continue for ever (verse 11); "but he perisheth like a beast" (verse 20), "his way utters his folly" (verse 13); *male parta male dilabuntur* [ill-gotten gains are soon squandered]; "like sheep they lie in the grave" (verse 14). *Puncto descendunt ad infernum*, "they spend their days in wealth, and go suddenly down to hell" (Job xxi, 13). For all physicians and medicines enforcing nature, a swooning wife, families' complaints, friends' tears, dirges, masses, *nænias* [wailing women], funerals, for all orations, counterfeit hired acclamations, elogiums, epitaphs, hearses, heralds, black mourners, solemnities, obelisks, and Mausolean tombs if he have them, at least, he, like a hog, goes to hell[1] with a guilty conscience (*propter hos dilatavit infernus os suum* [for these Hell opened wide her mouth]), and a poor man's curse: his memory stinks like the snuff of a candle when it is put out; scurrile libels and infamous obloquies accompany him; whenas poor Lazarus is *Dei sacrarium*, the temple of God, lives and dies in true devotion, hath no more attendants but his own innocency, the heaven a tomb, desires to be dissolved, buried in his mother's lap, and hath a company of angels ready to convey his soul into Abraham's bosom,[2] he leaves an everlasting and a sweet memory behind him. Crassus and Sylla are indeed still recorded, but not so much for their wealth as for their victories; Crœsus for his end, Solomon for his wisdom. In a word, "to get wealth is a great trouble, anxiety to keep, grief to lose it." [3]

> *Quid dignum stolidis mentibus imprecer?*
> *Opes, honores ambiant;*
> *Et cum falsa gravi mole paraverint,*
> *Tum vera cognoscant bona.*[4]
>
> [For fools what fitting curse should I call down?
> That they should wealth and honours court,
> And with much toil make these false goods their own.
> Then learn to know the better sort.]

But consider all those other unknown, concealed happinesses which a poor man hath (I call them unknown, because they be not acknowledged in the world's esteem, or so taken); *O fortunatos nimium bona si sua norint:* happy they are in the meantime if they would take notice of it, make use, or apply

it to themselves. "A poor man wise is better than a foolish king" (Eccles. iv, 13). "Poverty is the way to heaven,"[1] the mistress of philosophy,[2] the mother of religion, virtue, sobriety, sister of innocency, and an upright mind.[3] How many such encomiums might I add out of the Fathers, philosophers, orators! It troubles many that are poor, they account of it as a great plague, curse, a sign of God's hatred, *ipsum scelus*, damned villainy itself, a disgrace, shame and reproach; but to whom, or why? "If fortune hath envied me wealth, thieves have robbed me, my father have not left me such revenues as others have," that I am a younger brother, basely born,

> *Cui sine luce genus, surdumque parentum*
> *Nomen,*

of mean parentage, a dirt-dauber's son, "am I therefore to be blamed? an eagle, a bull, a lion is not rejected for his poverty, and why should a man?"[4] 'Tis *fortunæ telum, non culpæ,*[5] fortune's fault, not mine. "Good sir, I am a servant" (to use Seneca's words[6]), "howsoever your poor friend; a servant, and yet your chamber-fellow, and, if you consider better of it, your fellow-servant." I am thy drudge in the world's eyes, yet in God's sight peradventure thy better, my soul is more precious, and I dearer unto Him. *Etiam servi diis curæ sunt*, as Evangelus at large proves in Macrobius, the meanest servant is most precious in His sight. Thou art an Epicure, I am a good Christian; thou art many parasangs before me in means, favour, wealth, honour, Claudius his Narcissus, Nero's Massa, Domitian's Parthenius, a favourite, a golden slave; thou coverest thy floors with marble, thy roofs with gold, thy walls with statues, fine pictures, curious hangings, etc.; what of all this? *calcas opes* [you tread on wealth], etc., what 's all this to true happiness? I live and breathe under that glorious heaven, that august Capitol of nature, enjoy the brightness of stars, that clear light of sun and moon, those infinite creatures, plants, birds, beasts, fishes, herbs, all that sea and land afford, far surpassing all that art and *opulentia* can give. I am free, and which Seneca said of Rome,[7] *culmus liberos texit, sub marmore et auro postea servitus habitavit* [when free they lived under thatch, their slavery was housed in marble and gold]. Thou hast *Amaltheæ cornu* [cornucopia], plenty, pleasure, the world at will, I am despicable and poor; but a word overshot, a blow in choler, a game at tables, a loss at sea, a sudden fire, the prince's dislike, a little sickness, etc., may make us equal in an instant; how-

soever take thy time, triumph and insult awhile, *cinis æquat*, as Alphonsus said,[1] death will equalize us all at last. I live sparingly in the meantime, am clad homely, fare hardly; is this a reproach? am I the worse for it? am I contemptible for it? am I to be reprehended? A learned man in Nevisanus[2] was taken down for sitting amongst gentlemen, but he replied, "My nobility is about the head, yours declines to the tail," and they were silent. Let them mock, scoff, and revile, 'tis not thy scorn, but his that made thee so; "He that mocketh the poor, reproacheth him that made him" (Prov. xvii, 5), "and he that rejoiceth at affliction shall not be unpunished." For the rest, the poorer thou art, the happier thou art,[3] *ditior est, at non melior*, saith Epictetus, he is richer, not better than thou art, not so free from lust, envy, hatred, ambition.

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis.

Happy he, in that he is freed from the tumults of the world, he seeks no honours, gapes after no preferment, flatters not, envies not, temporizeth not, but lives privately, and well contented with his estate;[4]

Nec spes corde avidas, nec curam pascit inanem,
Securus quo fata cadant.

[He is not troubled with ambition nor vexed with care; indifferent to the fate of kingdoms.]

He is not troubled with state matters, whether kingdoms thrive better by succession or election; whether monarchies should be mixed, temperate, or absolute; the house of Ottomon's and Austria is all one to him; he inquires not after colonies or new discoveries; whether Peter were at Rome, or Constantine's donation be of force; what comets or new stars signify, whether the earth stand or move, there be a new world in the moon, or infinite worlds, etc. He is not touched with fear of invasions, factions, or emulations.

Felix ille animi, divisque simillimus ipsis,
Quem non mordaci resplendens gloria fuco
Sollicitat, non jastosi mala gaudia luxus,
Sed tacitos sinit ire dies, et paupere cultu
Exigit innocuæ tranquilla silentia vitæ.[5] [6]

An happy soul, and like to God himself,
Whom not vain glory macerates or strife,
Or wicked joys of that proud swelling pelf,
But leads a still, poor, and contented life.

A secure, quiet, blissful state he hath, if he could acknowledge it.[1] But here is the misery, that he will not take notice of it; he repines at rich men's wealth, brave hangings, dainty fare, as Simonides objecteth to Hiero, he hath all the pleasures of the world, *in lectis eburneis dormit, vinum phialis bibit, optimis unguentis delibuitur*, "he knows not the affliction of Joseph, stretching himself on ivory beds, and singing to the sound of the viol."[2] And it troubles him that he hath not the like: there is a difference (he grumbles) between laplolly and pheasants, to tumble i' th' straw and lie in a down bed, betwixt wine and water, a cottage and a palace. "He hates nature" (as Pliny characterizeth him[3]) "that she hath made him lower than a god, and is angry with the gods that any man goes before him"; and although he hath received much, yet (as Seneca follows it[4]) "he thinks it an injury that he hath no more, and is so far from giving thanks for his tribuneship, that he complains he is not prætor; neither doth that please him, except he may be consul." Why is he not a prince, why not a monarch, why not an emperor? Why should one man have so much more than his fellows, one have all, another nothing? Why should one man be a slave or drudge to another? one surfeit, another starve, one live at ease, another labour, without any hope of better fortune? Thus they grumble, mutter, and repine: not considering that inconstancy of human affairs, judicially conferring one condition with another, or well weighing their own present estate. What they are now, thou mayest shortly be; and what thou art, they shall likely be. Expect a little, confer future and times past with the present, see the event, and comfort thyself with it. It is as well to be discerned in commonwealths, cities, families, as in private men's estates. Italy was once lord of the world, Rome, the queen of cities, vaunted herself of two myriads of inhabitants;[5] now that all-commanding country is possessed by petty princes, Rome a small village in respect.[6] Greece of old the seat of civility, mother of sciences. and humanity; now forlorn, the nurse of barbarism, a den of thieves. Germany then, saith Tacitus, was incult and horrid, now full of magnificent cities: Athens, Corinth, Carthage, how flourishing cities! now buried in their own ruins: *corvorum, ferarum, aprorum, et bestiarum lustra*, like so many wildernesses, a receptacle of wild beasts. Venice, a poor fisher-town, Paris, London, small cottages in Cæsar's time, now most noble emporiums. Valois, Plantagenet, and Scaliger, how fortunate families! how likely to continue! now quite extinguished and

rooted out. He stands aloft to-day, full of favour, wealth, honour, and prosperity, in the top of fortune's wheel: to-morrow in prison, worse than nothing, his son 's a beggar. Thou art a poor servile drudge, *fæx populi* [the dregs of the people], a very slave; thy son may come to be a prince, with Maximinus, Agathocles, etc., a senator, a general of an army. Thou standest bare to him now, workest for him, drudgest for him and his, takest an alms of him; stay but a little, and his next heir peradventure shall consume all with riot, be degraded, thou exalted, and he shall beg of thee. Thou shalt be his most honourable patron, he thy devout servant, his posterity shall run, ride, and do as much for thine; as it was with Frescobald and Cromwell,[1] it may be for thee. Citizens devour country gentlemen, and settle in their seats; after two or three descents, they consume all in riot, it returns to the city again.

Novus incola venit;
Nam propriæ telluris herum natura, neque illum,
Nec me, nec quenquam statuit; nos expulit ille;
Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia furis.[2]

[Have we liv'd at a more frugal rate
Since this new stranger seiz'd on our estate?
Nature will no perpetual heir assign,
Or make the farm his property or mine.
He turn'd us out; but follies all his own,
Or law-suits and their knaveries yet unknown,
Or, all his follies and his law-suits past,
Some long-liv'd heir shall turn him out at last.]

A lawyer buys out his poor client, after a while his client's posterity buy out him and his; so things go round, ebb and flow.

Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofellæ
Dictus erat, nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis.

[The farm, once mine, now bears Umbrenus' name;
The use alone, not property, we claim.]

As he said then, *Ager cujus, quot habes dominos?* [Whose art thou, field? How many masters hast thou?] so say I of land, houses, movables and money, mine to-day, his anon, whose to-morrow? In fine (as Machiavel observes[3]), "virtue and prosperity beget rest; rest idleness; idleness riot; riot destruction: from which we come again to good laws; good laws engender virtuous actions; virtue, glory, and prosperity"; and "'tis no

dishonour then" (as Guicciardine adds) "for a flourishing man, city, or state to come to ruin, nor infelicity to be subject to the law of nature." [1] *Ergo terrena calcanda, sitienda cœlestia*, therefore (I say) scorn this transitory state, look up to heaven, think not what others are, but what thou art, *qua parte locatus es in re*,[2] and what thou shalt be, what thou mayest be. Do (I say) as Christ Himself did, when He lived here on earth, imitate Him as much as in thee lies. How many great Cæsars, mighty monarchs, tetrarchs, dynasts, princes lived in His days, in what plenty, what delicacy, how bravely attended, what a deal of gold and silver, what treasure, how many sumptuous palaces had they, what provinces and cities, ample territories, fields, rivers, fountains, parks, forests, lawns, woods, cells, etc.! Yet Christ had none of all this, He would have none of this, He voluntarily rejected all this, He could not be ignorant, He could not err in His choice, He contemned all this, He chose that which was safer, better, and more certain, and less to be repented, a mean estate, even poverty itself; and why dost thou then doubt to follow Him, to imitate Him, and His apostles, to imitate all good men? So do thou tread in His divine steps, and thou shalt not err eternally, as too many worldlings do, that run on in their own dissolute courses, to their confusion and ruin, thou shalt not do amiss. Whatsoever thy fortune is, be contented with it, trust in Him, rely on Him, refer thyself wholly to Him. For know this, in conclusion, *non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*, 'tis not as men, but as God will. "The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich, bringeth low, and exalteth" (1 Sam. ii, ver. 7, 8), "he lifteth the poor from the dust, and raiseth the beggar from the dunghill, to set them amongst princes, and make them inherit the seat of glory"; 'tis all as He pleaseth, how, and when, and whom; He that appoints the end (though to us unknown) appoints the means likewise subordinate to the end.

Yea, but their present estate crucifies and torments most mortal men, they have no such forecast to see what may be, what shall likely be, but what is, though not wherefore, or from whom; *hoc angit*, their present misfortunes grind their souls, and an envious eye which they cast upon other men's prosperities; *Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet* [your neighbour's cattle give more milk], how rich, how fortunate, how happy is he! But in the meantime he doth not consider the other miseries, his infirmities of body and mind, that accompany his estate, but still reflects upon his own false conceived woes and wants,

whereas if the matter were duly examined, he is in no distress at all, he hath no cause to complain:[1]

Tolle querelas,
Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus,[2]

[Then cease complaining, friend, and learn to live.
He is not poor to whom kind fortune grants,
Even with a frugal hand, what nature wants,]

he is not poor, he is not in need. "Nature is content with bread and water; and he that can rest satisfied with that, may contend with Jupiter himself for happiness."[3] In that golden age, *somnos dedit umbra salubres, potum quoque lubricus amnis,*[4] the tree gave wholesome shade to sleep under, and the clear rivers drink. The Israelites drank water in the wilderness; Samson, David, Saul, Abraham's servant when he went for Isaac's wife, the Samaritan woman, and how many besides might I reckon up, Egypt, Palestine, whole countries in the Indies,[5] that drank pure water all their lives. The Persian kings themselves drank no other drink than the water of Choaspes, that runs by Susa, which was carried in bottles after them whithersoever they went.[6] Jacob desired no more of God, but bread to eat, and clothes to put on in his journey (Gen. xxviii, 20). *Bene est cui deus obtulit Parca quod satis est manu* [happy he to whom heaven hath given enough, yet sparingly]; bread is enough "to strengthen the heart."[7] And if you study philosophy aright, saith Madaurensis, "whatsoever is beyond this moderation, is not useful, but troublesome."[8] A. Gellius,[9] out of Euripides, accounts bread and water enough to satisfy nature, "of which there is no surfeit; the rest is not a feast, but a riot." St. Hierome esteems him rich "that hath bread to eat, and a potent man that is not compelled to be a slave: hunger is not ambitious, so that it have to eat, and thirst doth not prefer a cup of gold."[10] It was no Epicurean speech of an Epicure, "He that is not satisfied with a little will never have enough:" and very good counsel of him in the poet,[11] "O my son, mediocrity of means agrees best with men; too much is pernicious."

Divitiæ grandes homini sunt vivere parce,
Æquo animo.

[Great fortune 'tis, and riches of a kind,
To live on little with contented mind.]

And if thou canst be content, thou hast abundance, *nihil est, nihil deest*, thou hast little, thou wantest nothing. 'Tis all one

to be hanged in a chain of gold, or in a rope; to be filled with dainties, or coarser meat.

> *Si ventri bene, si lateri, pedibusque tuis, nil*
> *Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.*[1]
>
> If belly, sides and feet be well at ease,
> A prince's treasure can thee no more please.

Socrates in a fair, seeing so many things bought and sold, such a multitude of people convented to that purpose, exclaimed forthwith, "O ye gods, what a sight of things do not I want! 'Tis thy want alone that keeps thee in health of body and mind, and that which thou persecutest and abhorrest as a feral plague is thy physician and chiefest friend,[2] which makes thee a good man, a healthful, a sound, a virtuous, an honest and happy man." For when Virtue came from heaven (as the poet feigns) rich men kicked her up, wicked men abhorred her, courtiers scoffed at her, citizens hated her, and that she was thrust out of doors in every place; she came at last to her sister Poverty, where she had found good entertainment.[3] Poverty and Virtue dwell together.

> *O vitæ tuta facultas*
> *Pauperis, angustique lares, o munera nondum*
> *Intellecta deum.*[4]
>
> [To need but little and to feel secure—
> The great though unmarked blessing of the poor.]

How happy art thou if thou couldst be content! "Godliness is great gain, if a man can be content with that which he hath" (1 Tim. vi, 6); and all true happiness is in a mean estate. I have a little wealth, as he said,[5] *sed quas animus magnas facit*, a kingdom in conceit:

> *Nil amplius opto,*
> *Maia nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis;*[6]
>
> [Naught more I desire, O son of Maia, than that thou shouldst make these gifts my own;]

I have enough and desire no more.

> *Di bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli*
> *Fecerunt animi;*[7]
>
> [The gods did well when they made me lacking in ideas and in spirit;]

'tis very well, and to my content. *Vestem et fortunam concinnam potius quam laxam probo*,[8] let my fortune and my garments

be both alike fit for me. And which Sebastian Foscarinus, sometime Duke of Venice, caused to be engraven on his tomb in St. Mark's Church, "Hear, O ye Venetians, and I will tell you which is the best thing in the world: to contemn it":[1] I will engrave it in my heart, it shall be my whole study to contemn it. Let them take wealth, *stercora stercus amet* [let dung delight in dung], so that I may have security; *bene qui latuit, bene vixit:* though I live obscure, yet I live clean and honest;[2] and whenas the lofty oak is blown down, the silly reed may stand. Let them take glory, for that 's their misery; let them take honour, so that I may have heart's ease. *Duc me, O Jupiter, et tu fatum*, etc.[3] Lead me, O God, whither thou wilt, I am ready to follow; command, I will obey. I do not envy at their wealth, titles, offices;

Stet quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico,
Me dulcis saturet quies,

[Let who will stand on the slippery slope of fame,
I want but sweet tranquillity.]

let me live quiet and at ease. *Erimus fortasse* (as he[4] comforted himself) *quando illi non erunt*, when they are dead and gone, and all their pomp vanished, our memory may flourish:

Dant perennes
Stemmata non peritura Musæ.[5]

[The immortal Muses confer a pedigree that shall not fade.]

Let him be my lord, patron, baron, earl, and possess so many goodly castles, 'tis well for me that I have a poor house, and a little wood, and a well by it, etc.[6]

His me consolor victurum suavius, ac si
Quæstor avus pater atque meus, patruusque fuissent.

[With which I feel myself more truly blest
Than if my sires the quæstor's power possess'd.]

I live, I thank God, as merrily as he, and triumph as much in this my mean estate, as if my father and uncle had been Lord Treasurer, or my Lord Mayor. He feeds of many dishes, I of one; *qui Christum curat, non multum curat quam de pretiosis cibis stercus conficiat:*[7] what care I of what stuff my excrements be made? "He that lives according to nature cannot be poor, and he that exceeds can never have enough,"[8] *totus non sufficit orbis*, the whole world cannot give him content. "A small thing that the righteous hath, is better than the riches

of the ungodly" (Ps. xxxvii, 19); "and better is a poor morsel with quietness, than abundance with strife" (Prov. xvii, 7).

Be content then, enjoy thyself, and, as Chrysostom adviseth,[1] "be not angry for what thou hast not, but give God hearty thanks for what thou hast received."

Si dat oluscula
Mensa minuscula
Pace referta,
Ne pete grandia,
Lautaque prandia
Lite repleta.[2]

[If your humble table offer you but herbs along with peace, seek not rich and elegant banquets full of strife.]

But what wantest thou, to expostulate the matter? or what hast thou not better than a rich man? "Health, competent wealth, children, security, sleep, friends, liberty, diet, apparel, and what not," [3] or at least mayest have (the means being so obvious, easy, and well known); for as he inculcated to himself,

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem,
Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt;
Res non parta labore, sed relicta,
Lis nunquam, etc.,[4]

[The things which make life happy, my sweet Martial, are these: a fortune gained not by work but by inheritance, freedom from law-suits, etc.,]

I say again thou hast, or at least mayst have it, if thou wilt thyself, and that which I am sure he wants, a merry heart. "Passing by a village in the territory of Milan," saith St. Austin,[5] "I saw a poor beggar that had got belike his bellyful of meat, jesting and merry; I sighed, and said to some of my friends that were then with me, What a deal of trouble, madness, pain and grief do we sustain and exaggerate unto ourselves, to get that secure happiness which this poor beggar hath prevented us of, and which we peradventure shall never have! For that which he hath now attained with the begging of some small pieces of silver, a temporal happiness, and present heart's ease, I cannot compass with all my careful windings, and running in and out. And surely [6] the beggar was very merry, but I was heavy; he was secure, but I timorous. And if any man should ask me now, whether I had rather be merry, or still so solicitous and sad, I should say, merry. If he should ask me again, whether I had rather be as I am, or as this beggar was, I should

sure choose to be as I am, tortured still with cares and fears; but out of peevishness, and not out of truth." That which St. Austin said of himself here in this place, I may truly say to thee, thou discontented wretch, thou covetous niggard, thou churl, thou ambitious and swelling toad, 'tis not want but peevishness which is the cause of thy woes; settle thine affection, thou hast enough.

Denique sit finis quærendi, quoque habeas plus,
Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
Incipias; parto, quod avebas, utere.[1]

[Make an end of acquiring, with so much in hand cease to fear poverty, and begin to wind up your labours; having got what you desired, use it.]

Make an end of scraping, purchasing this manor, this field, that house, for this and that child; thou hast enough for thyself and them:

Quod petis hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus,[2]

[What you are looking for is here, in this village, if you keep a cheerful mind,]

'tis at hand, at home already, which thou so earnestly seekest. But

O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!

[If I but had that next corner to round off my estate!]

O that I had but that one nook of ground, that field there, that pasture! *O si urnam argenti fors quis mihi monstret!* O that I could but find a pot of money now, to purchase, etc., to build me a new house, to marry my daughter, place my son, etc. "O if I might but live a while longer to see all things settled, some two or three years, I would pay my debts," make all my reckonings even: but they are come and past, and thou hast more business than before. "O madness, to think to settle that in thine old age when thou hast more, which in thy youth thou canst not now compose, having but a little." [3] Pyrrhus would first conquer Africa, and then Asia, *et tum suaviter agere*, and then live merrily and take his ease: but when Cineas the orator told him he might do that already, *id jam posse fieri*, he rested satisfied, condemning his own folly.[4] *Si parva licet componere magnis* [to compare small things with great], thou mayst do the like, and therefore be composed in thy fortune. Thou hast enough: he that is wet in a bath, can be no more wet

if he be flung into Tiber, or into the ocean itself; and if thou hadst all the world, or a solid mass of gold as big as the world, thou canst not have more than enough; enjoy thyself at length, and that which thou hast; the mind is all; be content, thou art not poor, but rich, and so much the richer, as Censorinus [1] well writ to Cerellius, *quanto pauciora optas, non quo plura possides*, in wishing less, not having more. I say then, *Non adjice opes, sed minue cupiditates* ('tis Epicurus' advice [2]), add no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and as Chrysostom [3] well seconds him, *Si vis ditari, contemne divitias* [if thou wilt be rich despise riches]; that's true plenty, not to have, but not to want riches, *non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia*; 'tis more glory to contemn than to possess; *et nihil egere est deorum* [and to want nothing is divine]. How many deaf, dumb, halt, lame, blind, miserable persons could I reckon up that are poor, and withal distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, galley-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gyves, in dungeons, perpetual thraldom, than all which thou art richer, thou art more happy, to whom thou art able to give an alms, a lord in respect, a petty prince! Be contented then, I say, repine and mutter no more, "for thou art not poor indeed but in opinion." [4]

Yea, but this is very good counsel, and rightly applied to such as have it and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their brows, by their trade, that have something yet; he that hath birds may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help ourselves, mere beggars, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better success? As those old Britons complained to their lords and masters the Romans, oppressed by the Picts, *mare ad barbaros, barbari ad mare*, the barbarians drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the barbarians: our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men; they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us; they commonly overlook their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they voluntarily forget and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot help us. Instead of comfort they threaten us, miscall, scoff at us, to aggravate our misery, give us bad language, or if they do give good words, what 's that to relieve us? According to that of Thales, *facile est alios monere*; who cannot give good counsel? 'tis cheap, it costs them nothing. It is an easy matter when

one's belly is full to declaim against feasting; *Qui satur est pleno laudat jejunia ventre.* "Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the ox when he hath fodder?" (Job vi, 5). *Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse lætius,*[1] no man living so jocund, so merry as the people of Rome when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, "neither shame, nor laws, nor arms, nor magistrates could keep them in obedience." Seneca pleadeth hard for poverty, and so did those lazy philosophers: but in the meantime he was rich,[2] they had wherewithal to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extol it? "There are those" (saith Bernard [3]) "that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek so long as they may say or do what they list; but if occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience!" I would to God (as he said) "no man should commend poverty, but he that is poor," [4] or he that so much admires it would relieve, help, or ease others.

Nunc si nos audis, atque es divinus Apollo,
Dic mihi, qui nummos non habet, unde petat: [5]
Now if thou hear'st us, and art a good man,
Tell him that wants, to get means, if you can.

But no man hears us, we are most miserably dejected, the scum of the world. *Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum* [our bodies have scarce room for a new stripe].[6] We can get no relief, no comfort, no succour, *Et nihil inveni quod mihi ferret opem.*[7] We have tried all means, yet find no remedy: no man living can express the anguish and bitterness of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another hell: and what shall we do? When Crassus [8] the Roman consul warred against the Parthians, after an unlucky battle fought, he fled away in the night, and left four thousand men, sore sick and wounded in his tents, to the fury of the enemy, which when the poor men perceived, *clamoribus et ululatibus omnia complerunt,* they made lamentable moan, and roared downright, as loud as Homer's Mars when he was hurt, which the noise of ten thousand men could not drown, and all for fear of present death. But our estate is far more tragical and miserable, much more to be deplored, and far greater cause have we to lament; the devil and the world persecute us, all good fortune hath forsaken us, we are left to the rage of beggary, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomeness, to continual torment, labour and pain, to derision

and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse than any death; death alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it, and what shall we do? *Quod male fers, assuesce; feres bene:* accustom thyself to it, and it will be tolerable at last. Yea, but I may not, I cannot, *In me consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo* [Fortune hath consumed all her arrows upon me], I am in the extremity of human adversity; and as a shadow leaves the body when the sun is gone, I am now left and lost, and quite forsaken of the world. *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat* [he that is on the ground can fall no farther]; comfort thyself with this yet, thou art at the worst, and before it be long it will either overcome thee or thou it. If it be violent, it cannot endure, *aut solvetur, aut solvet*: let the devil himself and all the plagues of Egypt come upon thee at once, *Ne tu cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,* be of good courage; misery is virtue's whetstone.

Serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti,[1]

as Cato told his soldiers marching in the deserts of Libya, thirst, heat, sands, serpents, were pleasant to a valiant man; honourable enterprises are accompanied with dangers and damages, as experience evinceth; they will make the rest of thy life relish the better. But put case they continue; thou art not so poor as thou wast born, and, as some hold, much better to be pitied than envied. But be it so thou hast lost all, poor thou art, dejected, in pain of body, grief of mind, thine enemies insult over thee, thou art as bad as Job; "yet tell me" (saith Chrysostom), "was Job or the devil the greater conqueror? surely Job. The devil had his goods, he sat on the muck-hill and kept his good name; he lost his children, health, friends, but he kept his innocency; he lost his money, but he kept his confidence in God, which was better than any treasure." [2] Do thou then as Job did, triumph as Job did, and be not molested as every fool is.[3] *Sed qua ratione potero?* How shall this be done? Chrysostom answers, *Facile, si cœlum cogitaveris,* with great facility, if thou shalt but meditate on heaven. Hannah wept sore, and, troubled in mind, could not eat; "But why weepest thou?" said Elkanah her husband, "and why eatest thou not? why is thine heart troubled? am not I better to thee than ten sons?" [4] and she was quiet. Thou art here vexed in this world; [5] but say to thyself, "Why art thou troubled, O my soul?" Is not God better to thee than all temporalities, and momentany pleasures of the world? be then pacified. And though thou

beest now peradventure in extreme want, it may be 'tis for thy further good,[1] to try thy patience, as it did Job's, and exercise thee in this life: trust in God, and rely upon Him, and thou shalt be crowned in the end.[2] What 's this life to eternity? The world hath forsaken thee, thy friends and fortunes all are gone: yet know this, that the very hairs of thine head are numbered, that God is a spectator of all thy miseries, He sees thy wrongs, woes, and wants. "'Tis His good will and pleasure it should be so, and He knows better what is for thy good than thou thyself."[3] "His providence is over all, at all times; he hath set a guard of angels over us, and keeps us as the apple of his eye" (Ps. xvii, 8). Some He doth exalt, prefer, bless with wordly riches, honours, offices, and preferments, as so many glistering stars He makes to shine above the rest: some He doth miraculously protect from thieves, incursions, sword, fire, and all violent mischances, and, as the poet[4] feigns of that Lycian Pandarus, Lycaon's son, when he shot at Menelaus the Grecian with a strong arm and deadly arrow, Pallas, as a good mother keeps flies from her child's face asleep, turned by the shaft, and made it hit on the buckle of his girdle; so some He solicitously defends, others He exposeth to danger, poverty, sickness, want, misery, He chastiseth and corrects, as to Him seems best, in His deep, unsearchable, and secret judgment, and all for our good. "The tyrant took the city" (saith Chrysostom[5]), "God did not hinder it; led them away captives, so God would have it; he bound them, God yielded to it: flung them into the furnace, God permitted it: heat the oven hotter, it was granted: and when the tyrant had done his worst, God showed His power, and the children's patience"; He freed them: so can He thee, and can help in an instant, when it seems to Him good.[6] "Rejoice not against me, O my enemy; for though I fall, I shall rise: when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall lighten me."[7] Remember all those martyrs, what they have endured, the utmost that human rage and fury could invent, with what patience they have borne, with what willingness embraced it.[8] "Though he kill me," saith Job, "I will trust in him." *Justus inexpugnabilis*,[9] as Chrysostom holds, a just man is impregnable, and not to be overcome. The gout may hurt his hands, lameness his feet, convulsions may torture his joints, but not *rectam mentem* [his upright mind], his soul is free.

Nempe pecus, rem,
Lectos, argentum tollas licet; in manicis, et
Compedibus sævo teneas custode.[10]

[Perhaps, you mean,
My cattle, money, movables or land,
Then take them all.—But, slave, if I command,
A cruel jailer shall thy freedom seize.]

"Take away his money, his treasure is in heaven: banish him his country, he is an inhabitant of that heavenly Jerusalem: cast him into bands, his conscience is free; kill his body, it shall rise again; he fights with a shadow that contends with an upright man": [1] he will not be moved.

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ:

though heaven itself should fall on his head, he will not be offended. He is impenetrable, as an anvil hard, as constant as Job.

Ipse deus simul atque volet me solvet, opinor.

[God can deliver me when He will, I ween.]

Be thou such a one; let thy misery be what it will, what it can, with patience endure it; thou mayst be restored as he was. *Terris proscriptus, ad cælum propera; ab hominibus desertus, ad Deum fuge* [when proscribed from the earth, haste to heaven; when deserted by men, turn to God]. "The poor shall not always be forgotten, the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever" (Ps. ix, 18). "The Lord will be a refuge of the oppressed, and a defence in the time of trouble" (verse 9).

Servus Epictetus, mutilati corporis, Irus
Pauper; at hæc inter carus erat superis.[2]

Lame was Epictetus, and poor Irus,
Yet to them both God was propitious.

Lodovicus Vertomannus, that famous traveller, endured much misery, yet surely, saith Scaliger, he was *vir Deo carus*, in that he did escape so many dangers. God especially protected him, he was dear unto Him. *Modo in egestate, tribulatione, convalle deplorationis*, etc. "Thou art now in the vale of misery, in poverty, in agony, in temptation; rest, eternity, happiness, immortality, shall be thy reward," [3] as Chrysostom pleads, "if thou trust in God, and keep thine innocency." *Non si male nunc, et olim sic erit semper* [if things are bad now, they will not always be so], a good hour may come upon a sudden; expect a little.[4]

Yea, but this expectation is it which tortures me in the meantime; *futura expectans præsentibus angor* [5] [while waiting

for the future, I am tortured by the present], whilst the grass grows the horse starves: despair not, but hope well.[1]

Spera, Batte, tibi melius lux crastina ducet;
Dum spiras spera.[2]

[Hoqe on, Battus, to-morrow will bring thee better hap; while thou breathest, hope.]

Cheer up, I say, be not dismayed; *Spes alit agricolas* [hope bears up the farmers]; "he that sows in tears, shall reap in joy" (Ps. cxxvi, 7).

Si fortune me tormente,
Esperance me contente.

[If fortune torments me, hope contents me.]

Hope refresheth, as much as misery depresseth; hard beginnings have many times prosperous events, and that may happen at last which never was yet. "A desire accomplished delights the soul" (Prov. xiii, 19).

Grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora: [3]
Which makes m' enjoy my joys long wish'd at last,
Welcome that hour shall come when hope is past:

a lowering morning may turn to a fair afternoon, *Nube solet pulsa candidus ire dies.*[4] "The hope that is deferred is the fainting of the heart, but when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life" (Prov. xiii, 12), *suavissimum est voti compos fieri*[5] [it is most sweet to have one's wish fulfilled]. Many men are both wretched and miserable at first, but afterwards most happy; and oftentimes it so falls out, as Machiavel[6] relates of Cosmus Medices, that fortunate and renowned citizen of Europe, "that all his youth was full of perplexity, danger, and misery, till forty years were past, and then upon a sudden the sun of his honour broke out as through a cloud." Huniades was fetched out of prison, and Henry the Third of Portugal out of a poor monastery, to be crowned kings.

Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra,

[There 's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.]

beyond all hope and expectation many things fall out, and who knows what may happen? *Nondum omnium dierum soles occiderunt*, as Philippus said, all the suns are not yet set, a day may come to make amends for all. "Though my father

and mother forsake me, yet the Lord will gather me up" (Ps. xxvii, 10). "Wait patiently on the Lord, and hope in him" (Ps. xxxvii, 7). "Be strong, hope and trust in the Lord, and he will comfort thee, and give thee thine heart's desire" (Ps. xxvii, 14).

Sperate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.

[Hope, and reserve yourselves for better days.]

Fret not thyself because thou art poor, contemned, or not so well for the present as thou wouldest be, not respected as thou oughtest to be, by birth, place, worth; or that which is a double corrosive, thou hast been happy, honourable, and rich, art now distressed and poor, a scorn of men, a burden to the world, irksome to thyself and others, thou hast lost all. *Miserum est fuisse felicem* [it is most sad to have known happiness and lost it], and, as Boethius calls it, *infelicissimum genus infortunii;* [the saddest kind of misfortune]; this made Timon half mad with melancholy, to think of his former fortunes and present misfortunes: this alone makes many miserable wretches discontent. I confess it is a great misery to have been happy, the quintessence of infelicity to have been honourable and rich, but yet easily to be endured: security succeeds,[1] and to a judicious man a far better estate. The loss of thy goods and money is no loss; "thou hast lost them, they would otherwise have lost thee." [2] If thy money be gone, "thou art so much the lighter," [3] and, as St. Hierome persuades Rusticus the monk to forsake all and follow Christ: "Gold and silver are too heavy metals for him to carry that seeks heaven."

Vel nos in mare proximum,
Gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiam mali
Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet.[4]

[Let us cast into the sea our jewels and gems and worthless gold, if we truly repent of our sins.]

Zeno the philosopher lost all his goods by shipwreck, he made light of it, fortune had done him a good turn; [5] *Opes a me, animum auferre non potest:* she can take away my means, but not my mind. He set her at defiance ever after, for she could not rob him that had naught to lose: for he was able to contemn more than they could possess or desire. Alexander sent an hundred talents of gold to Phocion of Athens for a present, because he heard he was a good man: but Phocion returned his

talents back again with a *Permitte me in posterum virum bonum esse*, [permit me] to be a good man still; let me be as I am: *Non mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium* [I ask not gold nor rich reward]. That Theban Crates flung of his own accord his money into the sea, *Abite nummi, ego vos mergam, ne mergar a vobis*, I had rather drown you than you should drown me. Can Stoics and Epicures thus contemn wealth, and shall not we that are Christians? It was *mascula vox et præclara*, a generous speech of Cotta in Sallust,[1] "Many miseries have happened unto me at home, and in the wars abroad, of which by the help of God some I have endured, some I have repelled, and by mine own valour overcome: courage was never wanting to my designs, nor industry to my intents: prosperity or adversity could never alter my disposition." A wise man's mind, as Seneca holds, "is like the state of the world above the moon, ever serene." [2] Come then what can come, befall what may befall, *infractum invictumque animum opponas*[3] [meet it with mind undismayed and unbroken]; *rebus augustis animosus atque fortis appare* [show thyself in adversity spirited and bold] (Hor. *Od.* 11, *lib.* 2). Hope and patience are two sovereign remedies for all, the surest reposals, the softest cushions to lean on in adversity:

Durum : sed levius fit patientia,
Quicquid corrigere est nefas.[4]

['Tis hard: but patience must endure,
And soothe the woes it cannot cure.]

If it cannot be helped, or amended, make the best of it; [5] *necessitati qui se accommodat, sapit*,[6] he is wise that suits himself to the time. As at a game at tables, so do by all such inevitable accidents:

Ita vita est hominum quasi cum ludas tesseris,
Si illud quod est maxime opus jactu non cadit,
Illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas ; [7]

if thou canst not fling what thou wouldst, play thy cast as well as thou canst. Everything, saith Epictetus, hath two handles, the one to be held by, the other not: 'tis in our choice to take and leave whether we will [8] (all which Simplicius, his commentator, hath illustrated by many examples), and 'tis in our power, as they say, to make or mar ourselves. Conform thyself then to thy present fortune, and cut thy coat according to thy cloth; *Ut quimus (quod aiunt) quando quod volumus non licet* [9] [let us do as we can (as the proverb is) since we may not as we will]; be

contented with thy lot, state, and calling, whatsoever it is, and rest as well satisfied with thy present condition in this life.

Esto quod es; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse;
Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis.

Be as thou art: and as they are, so let
Others be still; what is and may be covet.

And as he that is invited to a feast eats what is set before him and looks for no other, enjoy that thou hast, and ask no more of God than what He thinks fit to bestow upon thee.[1] *Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum* [not every one is privileged to visit Corinth], we may not be all gentlemen, all Catos, or Lælii, as Tully telleth us, all honourable, illustrious, and serene, all rich; but because mortal men want many things, "therefore," saith Theodoret,[2] "hath God diversely distributed His gifts, wealth to one, skill to another, that rich men might encourage and set poor men at work, poor men might learn several trades to the common good." As a piece of arras is composed of several parcels, some wrought of silk, some of gold, silver, crewel of divers colours, all to serve for the exornation of the whole; music is made of divers discords and keys; a total sum of many small numbers; so is a commonwealth of several inequal trades and callings. If all should be Crœsi and Darii, all idle, all in fortunes equal, who should till the land?[3] as Menenius Agrippa well satisfied the tumultuous rout of Rome, in his elegant apologue of the belly and the rest of the members.[4] Who should build houses, make our several stuffs for raiments? We should all be starved for company, as Poverty declared at large in Aristophanes' *Plutus*, and sue at last to be as we were at first. And therefore God hath appointed this inequality of states, orders, and degrees, a subordination, as in all other things. The earth yields nourishment to vegetals, sensible creatures feed on vegetals, both are substitutes to reasonable souls, and men are subject amongst themselves, and all to higher powers, so God would have it. All things then being rightly examined and duly considered as they ought, there is no such cause of so general discontent, 'tis not in the matter itself, but in our mind, as we moderate our passions and esteem of things. *Nihil aliud necessarium ut sis miser* (saith Cardan[5]) *quam ut te miserum credas:* let thy fortune be what it will, 'tis thy mind alone that makes thee poor or rich, miserable or happy. *Vidi ego* (saith divine Seneca) *in villa hilari et amœna mœstos, et media solitudine occupatos; non locus sed animus facit ad*

tranquillitatem: "I have seen men miserably dejected in a pleasant village, and some again well occupied and at good ease in a solitary desert; 'tis the mind, not the place, causeth tranquillity, and that gives true content." I will yet add a word or two for a corollary. Many rich men, I dare boldly say it, that lie on down beds, with delicacies pampered every day, in their well-furnished houses, live at less heart's ease, with more anguish, more bodily pain, and through their intemperance more bitter hours, than many a prisoner or galley-slave; *Mæcenas in pluma æque vigilat ac Regulus in dolio*[1] [Mæcenas can no more sleep on his feather-bed than Regulus in his cask]: those poor starved Hollanders, whom Bartison their captain left in Nova Zembla, *anno* 1596,[2] or those eight miserable Englishmen that were lately left behind to winter in a stove in Greenland in 77 degrees of latitude, 1630,[3] so pitifully forsaken, and forced to shift for themselves in a vast, dark, and desert place, to strive and struggle with hunger, cold, desperation, and death itself. 'Tis a patient and quiet mind (I say it again and again) gives true peace and content. So for all other things, they are, as old Chremes told us,[4] as we use them.

> *Parentes, patriam, amicos, genus, cognatos, divitias,*
> *Hæc perinde sunt ac illius animus qui ea possidet;*
> *Qui uti scit, ei bona; qui utitur non recte, mala.*

Parents, friends, fortunes, country, birth, alliance, etc., ebb and flow with our conceit; please or displease, as we accept and construe them, or apply them to ourselves. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ* [every one is the architect of his own fortune], and in some sort I may truly say, prosperity and adversity are in our own hands. *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso* [no one is injured except by himself], and, which Seneca confirms out of his judgment and experience, "Every man's mind is stronger than fortune, and leads him to what side he will; a cause to himself each one is of his good or bad life."[5] But will we, or nill we, make the worst of it, and suppose a man in the greatest extremity, 'tis a fortune which some indefinitely prefer before prosperity; of two extremes it is the best. *Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis*, men in prosperity forget God and themselves, they are besotted with their wealth as birds with henbane:[6] miserable if fortune forsake them, but more miserable if she tarry and overwhelm them:[7] for when they come to be in great place, rich, they that were most temperate, sober, and discreet in their private fortunes, as Nero, Otho, Vitellius,

Heliogabalus (*optimi imperatores nisi imperassent* [excellent rulers till they were put to the test]), degenerate on a sudden into brute beasts, so prodigious in lust, such tyrannical oppressors, etc., they cannot moderate themselves, they become monsters, odious, harpies, what not? *Cum triumphos, opes, honores adepti sunt, ad voluptatem et otium deinceps se convertunt* [when they attain to triumphs, wealth, and honours, they give themselves up to pleasure and sloth]: 'twas Cato's note,[1] they cannot contain. For that cause belike,

> *Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat,*
> *Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam,*
> *Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,*
> *Dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum*
> *Officium.*[2]

> Eutrapelus, when he would hurt a knave,
> Gave him gay clothes and wealth to make him brave:
> Because now rich, he would quite change his mind,
> Keep whores, fly out, set honesty behind.

On the other side, in adversity many mutter and repine, despair, etc.; both bad, I confess:

> *Ut calceus olim;*
> *Si pede major erit, subvertet: si minor, uret,*[3]

as a shoe too big or too little, one pincheth, the other sets the foot awry, *sed e malis minimum* [but of evils choose the least]. If adversity hath killed his thousand, prosperity hath killed his ten thousand: therefore adversity is to be preferred; *hæc fræno indiget, illa solatio*; [the one needs a curb, the other a solace] *illa fallit, hæc instruit*[4]: the one deceives, the other instructs; the one miserably happy, the other happily miserable; and therefore many philosophers have voluntarily sought adversity, and so much commend it in their precepts. Demetrius, in Seneca, esteemed it a great infelicity, that in his lifetime he had no misfortune, *miserum cui nihil unquam accidisset adversi.* Adversity then is not so heavily to be taken, and we ought not in such cases so much to macerate ourselves: there is no such odds in poverty and riches. To conclude in Hierome's words,[5] "I will ask our magnificoes, that build with marble and bestow a whole manor on a thread, what difference between them and Paul the Eremite, that bare old man? They drink in jewels, he in his hand: he is poor and goes to heaven, they are rich and go to hell."

MEMB. IV.

Against Servitude, Loss of Liberty, Imprisonment, Banishment

SERVITUDE, loss of liberty, imprisonment, are no such miseries as they are held to be: we are slaves and servants the best of us all: as we do reverence our masters, so do our masters their superiors: gentlemen serve nobles, and nobles subordinate to kings, *omne sub regno graviore regnum* [every throne is subject to a greater], princes themselves are God's servants, *reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis*. They are subject to their own laws, and, as the kings of China, endure more than slavish imprisonment, to maintain their state and greatness, they never come abroad. Alexander was a slave to fear, Cæsar of pride, Vespasian to his money (*nihil enim refert, rerum sis servus an hominum* [it makes no difference whether one is a slave of persons or of things]), Heliogabalus to his gut, and so of the rest. Lovers are slaves to their mistresses, rich men to their gold, courtiers generally to lust and ambition, and all slaves to our affections, as Evangelus well discourseth in Macrobius,[1] and Seneca [2] the philosopher, *assiduam servitutem extremam et ineluctabilem* he calls it, a continual slavery, to be so captivated by vices; and who is free? Why then dost thou repine? *Satis est potens*, Hierome saith, *qui servire non cogitur* [he is powerful enough who is not forced to do servile work]. Thou carriest no burdens, thou art no prisoner, no drudge, and thousands want that liberty, those pleasures which thou hast. Thou art not sick, and what wouldst thou have? But *nitimur in vetitum*, we must all eat of the forbidden fruit. Were we enjoined to go to such and such places, we would not willingly go: but being barred of our liberty, this alone torments our wandering soul that we may not go. A citizen of ours, saith Cardan,[3] was sixty years of age, and had never been forth of the walls of the city of Milan; the prince hearing of it, commanded him not to stir out: being now forbidden that which all his life he had neglected, he earnestly desired, and being denied, *dolore confectus mortem obiit*, he died for grief.

What I have said of servitude, I say again of imprisonment. We are all prisoners. What is our life but a prison? [4] We are all imprisoned in an island. The world itself to some men is a prison, our narrow seas as so many ditches, and when they have compassed the globe of the earth, they would fain go see what is done in the moon. In Muscovy and many other northern

parts, all over Scandia, they are imprisoned half the year in stoves, they dare not peep out for cold.[1] At Aden in Arabia they are penned in all day long with that other extreme of heat, and keep their markets in the night.[2] What is a ship but a prison? And so many cities are but as so many hives of bees, ant-hills; but that which thou abhorrest, many seek: women keep in all winter, and most part of summer, to preserve their beauties; some for love of study: Demosthenes shaved his beard because he would cut off all occasion from going abroad; how many monks and friars, anchorites, abandon the world! *Monachus in urbe, piscis in arido* [a monk in town is like a fish out of water]. Art in prison? Make right use of it, and mortify thyself; "Where may a man contemplate better than in solitariness, or study more than in quietness?" [3] Many worthy men have been imprisoned all their lives, and it hath been occasion of great honour and glory to them, much public good by their excellent meditation. Ptolemæus, King of Egypt, *cum viribus attenuatis infirma valetudine laboraret, miro discendi studio affectus*, etc., now being taken with a grievous infirmity of body that he could not stir abroad, became Strato's scholar, fell hard to his book, and gave himself wholly to contemplation, and upon that occasion (as mine author [4] adds), *pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum* [as the fairest monument of his wealth and power], etc., to his great honour built that renowned library at Alexandria, wherein were 40,000 volumes. Severinus Boethius never writ so elegantly as in prison, Paul so devoutly, for most of his Epistles were dictated in his bands. "Joseph," saith Austin,[5] "got more credit in prison than when he distributed corn, and was lord of Pharaoh's house." It brings many a lewd, riotous fellow home, many wandering rogues it settles, that would otherwise have been like raving tigers, ruined themselves and others.

Banishment is no grievance at all, *Omne solum forti patria* [every soil is a fatherland to the brave], etc., *et patria est ubicunque bene est*, that 's a man's country where he is well at ease. "Many travel for pleasure to that city," saith Seneca, "to which thou art banished, and what a part of the citizens are strangers born in other places!" *Incolentibus patria*,[6] 'tis their country that are born in it, and they would think themselves banished to go to the place which thou leavest, and from which thou art so loath to depart. 'Tis no disparagement to be a stranger, or so irksome to be an exile. "The rain is a stranger to the earth, rivers to the sea, Jupiter in Egypt, the

sun to us all. The soul is an alien to the body, a nightingale to the air, a swallow in a house, and Ganymede in heaven, an elephant at Rome, a phœnix in India";[1] and such things commonly please us best which are most strange and come farthest off. Those old Hebrews esteemed the whole world Gentiles; the Greeks held all barbarians but themselves; our modern Italians account of us as dull Transalpines by way of reproach, they scorn thee and thy country which thou so much admirest. 'Tis a childish humour to hone after home, to be discontent at that which others seek; to prefer, as base Icelanders and Norwegians do, their own ragged island before Italy or Greece, the gardens of the world. There is a base nation in the north, saith Pliny,[2] called Chauci, that live amongst rocks and sands by the seaside, feed on fish, drink water: and yet these base people account themselves slaves in respect when they come to Rome. *Ita est profecto* (as he concludes), *multis fortuna parcit in pœnam;* so it is, fortune favours some to live at home, to their further punishment: 'tis want of judgment. All places are distant from heaven alike, the sun shines haply as warm in one city as in another, and to a wise man there is no difference of climes; friends are everywhere to him that behaves himself well, and a prophet is not esteemed in his own country. Alexander, Cæsar, Trajan, Hadrian, were as so many land-leapers, now in the east, now in the west, little at home, and Polus Venetus, Lod. Vertomannus, Pinzonus, Cadamustus, Columbus, Americus Vespuccius, Vascus Gama, Drake, Candish, Oliver à Nort, Schouten, got all their honour by voluntary expeditions. But you say such men's travel is voluntary; we are compelled, and as malefactors must depart: yet know this of Plato[3] to be true, *ultori Deo summa cura peregrinus est*, God hath an especial care of strangers, "and when he wants friends and allies, he shall deserve better and find more favour with God and men." Besides, the pleasure of peregrination, variety of objects will make amends; and so many nobles, Tully, Aristides, Themistocles, Theseus, Codrus, etc., as have been banished, will give sufficient credit unto it. Read Peter Alcionius his two books of this subject.

MEMB. V.

Against Sorrow for Death of Friends or otherwise, vain Fear, etc.

Death and departure of friends are things generally grievous, *Omnium quæ in humana vita contingunt, luctus atque mors sunt acerbissima,*[1] the most austere and bitter accidents that can happen to a man in this life; *in æternum valedicere,* to part for ever, to forsake the world and all our friends, 'tis *ultimum terribilium,* the last and the greatest terror, most irksome and troublesome unto us, *Homo toties moritur, quoties amittit suos* [2] [a man dies every time he loses his dear ones]. And though we hope for a better life, eternal happiness, after these painful and miserable days, yet we cannot compose ourselves willingly to die; the remembrance of it is most grievous unto us, especially to such who are fortunate and rich: they start at the name of death, as an horse at a rotten post. Say what you can of that other world, with Metezuma that Indian prince,[3] *Bonum est esse hic,* they had rather be here. Nay, many generous spirits, and grave staid men otherwise, are so tender in this, that at the loss of a dear friend they will cry out, roar, and tear their hair, lamenting some months after, howling "Ohone," as those Irish women, and Greeks at their graves,[4] commit many undecent actions, and almost go besides themselves. "My dear father, my sweet husband, mine only brother 's dead; to whom shall I make my moan?" *O me miserum! Quis dabit in lacrimas fontem?* [Woe is me! who shall ope the fount of tears?], etc. "What shall I do?"

> *Sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors*
> *Abstulit, hei misero frater adempte mihi!* [5]
>
> My brother's death my study hath undone,
> Woe 's me, alas, my brother he is gone!

Mezentius would not live after his son:

> *Nunc vivo, nec adhuc homines lucemque relinquo,*
> *Sed linquam.*[6]
>
> [I still live, nor yet have left the world of the living,
> but I shall leave it.]

And Pompey's wife cried out at the news of her husband's death,

> *Turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore,*[7]
>
> ['Twere shame that I should not die from sheer grief
> for thee,]

violenta luctu [carried away by the violence of her grief] *et nescia tolerandi*, as Tacitus[1] of Agrippina, [and] not able to moderate her passions. So when she heard her son was slain, she abruptly broke off her work, changed countenance and colour, tore her hair, and fell a-roaring downright:

Subitus miseræ color ossa reliquit,
Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa:
Evolat infelix et femineo ululatu
Scissa comam.

[Quick fled the colour from her cheeks, her hands
Let fall the distaff and unroll the reel.
With locks dishevelled and with piercing shrieks
She rushed abroad.]

Another would needs run upon the sword's point after Euryalus' departure:

Figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
Conjicite, o Rutili;[2]

[O pierce me through, if ye have any hearts,
Rutulians, at me cast all your darts;]

"O let me die, some good man or other make an end of me!" How did Achilles take on for Patroclus' departure! A black cloud of sorrows overshadowed him, saith Homer. Jacob rent his clothes, put sackcloth about his loins, sorrowed for his son a long season, and could not be comforted, but would needs go down into the grave unto his son (Gen. xxxvii, 35). Many years after, the remembrance of such friends, of such accidents, is most grievous unto us, to see or hear of it, though it concern not ourselves but others. Scaliger saith of himself, that he never read Socrates' death in Plato's *Phædo* but he wept: Austin shed tears when he read the destruction of Troy.[3] But howsoever this passion of sorrow be violent, bitter, and seizeth familiarly on wise, valiant, discreet men, yet it may surely be withstood, it may be diverted. For what is there in this life, that it should be so dear unto us? or that we should so much deplore the departure of a friend? The greatest pleasures are common society, to enjoy one another's presence, feasting, hawking, hunting, brooks, woods, hills, music, dancing, etc.; all this is but vanity and loss of time, as I have sufficiently declared.

Dum bibimus, dum serta, unguenta, puellas
Poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.[4]

Whilst we drink, prank ourselves, with wenches dally,
Old age upon 's at unawares doth sally.

As alchemists spend that small modicum they have to get gold, and never find it, we lose and neglect eternity, for a little momentany pleasure which we cannot enjoy, nor shall ever attain to in this life. We abhor death, pain, and grief, all, and yet we will do nothing of that which should vindicate us from, but rather voluntarily thrust ourselves upon it. "The lascivious prefers his whore before his life or good estate; an angry man his revenge: a parasite his gut; ambitious, honours; covetous, wealth; a thief his booty; a soldier his spoil; we abhor diseases, and yet we pull them upon us." [1] We are never better or freer from cares than when we sleep, and yet, which we so much avoid and lament, death is but a perpetual sleep; and why should it, as Epicurus argues, so much affright us? "When we are, death is not: but when death is, then we are not": [2] our life is tedious and troublesome unto him that lives best; "'tis a misery to be born, a pain to live, a trouble to die": [3] death makes an end of our miseries, and yet we cannot consider of it; a little before Socrates drank his potion of *cicuta* [hemlock], he bid the citizens of Athens cheerfully farewell, and concluded his speech with this short sentence: "My time is now come to be gone, I to my death, you to live on; but which of these is best, God alone knows." [4] For there is no pleasure here but sorrow is annexed to it, repentance follows it. "If I feed liberally, I am likely sick, or surfeit: if I live sparingly, my hunger and thirst is not allayed; I am well neither full nor fasting; if I live honest, I burn in lust"; if I take my pleasure, I tire and starve myself, and do injury to my body and soul.[5] "Of so small a quantity of mirth, how much sorrow! after so little pleasure, how great misery!" [6] 'Tis both ways troublesome to me, to rise and go to bed, to eat and provide my meat; cares and contentions attend me all day long, fears and suspicions all my life. I am discontented, and why should I desire so much to live? But an happy death will make an end of all our woes and miseries; *omnibus una meis certa medela malis* [it is the one sure remedy for all my ills]; why shouldst not thou then say with old Simeon, since thou art so well affected, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace"? or with Paul, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ"? *Beata mors quæ ad beatam vitam aditum aperit*, 'tis a blessed hour that leads us to a blessed life,[7] and blessed are they that die in the Lord. But life is sweet, and death is not so terrible in itself as the concomitants of it, a loathsome disease, pain, horror, etc., and many times the manner of it, to be hanged,

to be broken on the wheel, to be burned alive. Servetus [1] the heretic, that suffered in Geneva, when he was brought to the stake, and saw the executioner come with fire in his hand, *homo viso igne tam horrendum exclamavit, ut universum populum perterrefecerit*, roared so loud, that he terrified the people. An old Stoic would have scorned this. It troubles some to be unburied, or so:

> *Non te optima mater*
> *Condet humi, patriove onerabit membra sepulchro;*
> *Alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum*
> *Unda feret, piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.*
>
> Thy gentle parents shall not bury thee,
> Amongst thine ancestors entomb'd to be,
> But feral fowl thy carcass shall devour,
> Or drowned corpse hungry fish-maws shall scour.

As Socrates told Crito, it concerns me not what is done with me when I am dead; *facilis jactura sepulchri* [small sacrifice to lose a grave]: I care not so long as I feel it not; let them set mine head on the pike of Teneriffe, and my quarters in the four parts of the world, *pascam licet in cruce corvos* [on the cross let me feed the crows], let wolves or bears devour me; *cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam*,[2] the canopy of heaven covers him that hath no tomb. So likewise for our friends, why should their departure so much trouble us? They are better as we hope, and for what then dost thou lament, as those do whom Paul taxed in his time (1 Thess. iv, 13), "that have no hope"? 'Tis fit there should be some solemnity:

> *Sed sepelire decet defunctum, pectore forti,*
> *Constantes, unumque diem fletui indulgentes.*[3]
>
> ['Tis fitting to bury the dead, relaxing naught of our fortitude, yet giving up one day to mourning.]

Job's friends said not a word to him the first seven days, but let sorrow and discontent take their course, themselves sitting sad and silent by him. When Jupiter himself wept for Sarpedon, what else did the poet insinuate, but that some sorrow is good?

> *Quis matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati*
> *Flere vetat?* [4]

Who can blame a tender mother if she weep for her children? Beside, as Plutarch [5] holds, 'tis not in our power not to lament, *indolentia non cuivis contingit*, it takes away mercy and pity not to be sad; 'tis a natural passion to weep for our friends, an

irresistible passion to lament and grieve. "I know not how" (saith Seneca), "but sometimes 'tis good to be miserable in misery: and for the most part all grief evacuates itself by tears":

Est quædam flere voluptas,
Expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor; [1]

"yet after a day's mourning or two, comfort thyself for thy heaviness" (Eccles. xxxviii, 17). *Non decet defunctum ignavo quæstu prosequi* [2] [it is not becoming to follow the dead with unmanly wailing]; 'twas Germanicus' advice of old, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize, there 's *indolentiæ ars* [an art in suppressing grief], a medium to be kept: we do not (saith Austin [3]) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. "I forbid not a man to be angry, but I ask for what cause he is so. Not to be sad, but why is he sad? Not to fear, but wherefore is he afraid?" I require a moderation as well as a just reason. The Romans and most civil commonwealths have set a time to such solemnities, they must not mourn after a set day, "or if in a family a child be born, a daughter or son married, some state or honour be conferred, a brother be redeemed from his bands, a friend from his enemies," or the like, they must lament no more.[4] And 'tis fit it should be so; to what end is all their funeral pomp, complaints, and tears? When Socrates was dying, his friends Apollodorus and Crito, with some others, were weeping by him, which he perceiving, asked them what they meant: "for that very cause he put all the women out of the room; upon which words of his they were abashed, and ceased from their tears." [5] Lodovicus Cortesius, a rich lawyer of Padua (as Bernardinus Scardeonius relates [6]), commanded by his last will, and a great mulct if otherwise to his heir, that no funeral should be kept for him, no man should lament: but as at a wedding, music and minstrels to be provided; and instead of black mourners, he took order "that twelve virgins clad in green should carry him to the church." [7] His will and testament was accordingly performed, and he buried in St. Sophia's Church. Tully [8] was much grieved for his daughter Tulliola's death at first, until such time that he had confirmed his mind with some philosophical precepts; "then he began to triumph over fortune and grief, and for her reception into heaven to be much more joyed than before he was troubled for her loss." [9] If an heathen man could so fortify himself from philosophy, what shall a Christian from divinity? Why

dost thou so macerate thyself? 'Tis an inevitable chance, the first statute in Magna Charta, an everlasting Act of Parliament, all must die.[1]

Constat æterna positumque lege est,
Ut constet genitum nihil.[2]

['Tis a fixed and eternal law that nothing is immortal.]

It cannot be revoked, we are all mortal, and these all commanding gods and princes "die like men": *involvit humile pariter et celsum caput, æquatque summis infima* [it includeth the lofty and the humble, it levels the highest with the lowest].[3] "O weak condition of human estate!" Sylvius exclaims: Ladislaus, King of Bohemia,[4] eighteen years of age, in the flower of his youth, so potent, rich, fortunate and happy, in the midst of all his friends, amongst so many physicians,[5] now ready to be married,[6] in thirty-six hours sickened and died. We must so be gone sooner or later all, and as Calliopius in the comedy took his leave of his spectators and auditors, *Vos valete et plaudite* [I bid you farewell; clap me when I am gone], *Calliopius recensui*, must we bid the world farewell (*exit* Calliopius), and having now played our parts, for ever be gone. Tombs and monuments have the like fate, *data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris*, kingdoms, provinces, towns, and cities have their periods, and are consumed. In those flourishing times of Troy, Mycenæ was the fairest city in Greece, *Græciæ cunctæ imperitabat* [it ruled over the whole of Greece], but it, alas, and that Assyrian Nineveh are quite overthrown;[7] the like fate hath that Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes, Delos, *commune Græciæ conciliabulum*, the common council-house of Greece; and Babylon, the greatest city that ever the sun shone on,[8] hath now nothing but walls and rubbish left. *Quid Pandioniæ restat nisi nomen Athenæ?*[9] [What remains of ancient Athens save the name?] Thus Pausanias[10] complained in his times. And where is Troy itself now, Persepolis, Carthage, Cyzicum, Sparta, Argos, and all those Grecian cities? Syracuse and Agrigentum, the fairest towns in Sicily, which had sometime 700,000 inhabitants, are now decayed: the names of Hiero, Empedocles, etc., of those mighty numbers of people, only left. One Anacharsis is remembered amongst the Scythians; the world itself must have an end, and every part of it. *Cæteræ igitur urbes sunt mortales* [other cities are mortal], as Peter Gillius[11] concludes of Constantinople, *hæc sane, quamdiu erunt homines, futura mihi videtur immortalis* [but this one methinks will be immortal as long as men exist];

but 'tis not so: nor site, nor strength, nor sea, nor land can vindicate a city, but it and all must vanish at last. And as to a traveller great mountains seem plains afar off, at last are not discerned at all; cities, men, monuments decay, *nec solidis prodest sua machina terris* [nor is the earth saved by its solid structure], the names are only left, those at length forgotten, and are involved in perpetual night.

"Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina toward Megara, I began" (saith Servius Sulpicius, in a consolatory epistle of his to Tully[1]) "to view the country round about. Ægina was behind me, Megara before, Piræus on the right hand, Corinth on the left, what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes! I began to think with myself, Alas! why are we men so much disquieted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter, when so many goodly cities lie buried before us?[2] Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself." Correct then likewise, and comfort thyself in this, that we must necessarily die, and all die, that we shall rise again; as Tully held: *Jucundiorque multo congressus noster futurus, quam insuavis et acerbus digressus*, our second meeting shall be much more pleasant than our departure was grievous.

Ay, but he was my most dear and loving friend, my sole friend:

> *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus*
> *Tam cari capitis?*[3]
>
> And who can blame my woe?

Thou mayst be ashamed, I say with Seneca,[4] to confess it, "in such a tempest as this to have but one anchor,"[5] go seek another; and for his part thou dost him great injury to desire his longer life. "Wilt thou have him crazed and sickly still," like a tired traveller that comes weary to his inn, begin his journey afresh, "or to be freed from his miseries? Thou hast more need rejoice that he is gone."[6] Another complains of a most sweet wife, a young wife, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem* [not yet had Proserpina tied up her golden hair], such a wife as no mortal man ever had, so good a wife, but she is now dead and gone, *Lethæoque jacet condita sarcophago* [she lies buried in the silent tomb]. I reply to him in Seneca's words, if such a woman at least ever was to be had, "he did either so find or make her; if he found her, he may as happily find another";[7] if he made her, as Critobulus in Xenophon did

by his, he may as good cheap inform another, *et bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit*; he need not despair so long as the same master is to be had. But was she good? Had she been so tried peradventure as that Ephesian widow in Petronius, by some swaggering soldier, she might not have held out. Many a man would have been willingly rid of his: before thou wast bound, now thou art free; "and 'tis but a folly to love thy fetters, though they be of gold."[1] Come into a third place, you shall have an aged father sighing for a son, a pretty child;

Impube pectus quale vel impia
Molliret Thracum pectora :[2]

He now lies asleep,
Would make an impious Thracian weep;

or some fine daughter that died young, *Nondum experta novi gaudia prima tori* [not having yet tasted the joys of wedlock]; or a forlorn son for his deceased father. But why? *Prior exiit, prior intravit*, he came first, and he must go first. *Tu frustra pius, heu*[3] [in vain art thou pious], etc. What, wouldst thou have the laws of nature altered, and him to live always? Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Alcibiades, Galen, Aristotle, lost their fathers young. And why on the other side shouldst thou so heavily take the death of thy little son?

Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed miser ante diem,[4]

he died before his time, perhaps, not yet come to the solstice of his age, yet was he not mortal? Hear that divine Epictetus,[1] "If thou covet thy wife, friends, children should live always, thou art a fool." He was a fine child indeed, *dignus Apollineis lacrimis* [worthy to be wept by Apollo], a sweet, a loving, a fair, a witty child, of great hope, another Eteoneus, whom Pindarus the poet and Aristides the rhetorician so much lament; but who can tell whether he would have been an honest man? He might have proved a thief, a rogue, a spendthrift, a disobedient son, vexed and galled thee more than all the world beside, he might have wrangled with thee and disagreed, or with his brothers, as Eteocles and Polynices, and broke thy heart; he is now gone to eternity, as another Ganymede, in the flower of his youth,[6] "as if he had risen," said Plutarch,[7] "from the midst of a feast," before he was drunk; "the longer he had lived, the worse he would have been," *et quo vita longior* (Ambrose thinks), *culpa numerosior*, more sinful, more to answer he would have had. If he was naught, thou mayst be glad he is gone; if good, be

glad thou hadst such a son. Or art thou sure he was good? It may be he was an hypocrite, as many are, and howsoever he spake thee fair, peradventure he prayed, amongst the rest that Icaromenippus heard at Jupiter's whispering-place in Lucian, for his father's death, because he now kept him short, he was to inherit much goods and many fair manors after his decease. Or put case he was very good, suppose the best, may not thy dead son expostulate with thee, as he did in the same Lucian,[1] "Why dost thou lament my death, or call me miserable that am much more happy than thyself? What misfortune is befallen me? Is it because I am not bald, crooked, old, rotten, as thou art? What have I lost? some of your good cheer, gay clothes, music, singing, dancing, kissing, merry meetings, *thalami lubentias*, etc., is that it? Is it not much better not to hunger at all than to eat? not to thirst than to drink to satisfy thirst? not to be cold than to put on clothes to drive away cold? You had more need rejoice that I am freed from diseases, agues, cares, anxieties, livor, love, covetousness, hatred, envy, malice, that I fear no more thieves, tyrants, enemies, as you do." *Id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?*[2] Do they concern us at all, think you, when we are once dead? Condole not others then overmuch, wish not or fear thine own death, *Summum nec optes diem nec metuas*,[3] 'tis to no purpose.

> *Excessi e vitæ ærumnis facilisque lubensque,*
> *Ne pejora ipsa morte dehinc videam.*
>
> I left this irksome life with all mine heart,
> Lest worse than death should happen to my part.

Cardinal Brundusinus[4] caused this epitaph in Rome to be inscribed on his tomb, to show his willingness to die, and tax those that were so loath to depart. Weep and howl no more then, 'tis to small purpose; and as Tully adviseth us in the like case, *Non quos amisimus, sed quantum lugere par sit, cogitemus:* think what we do, not whom we have lost. So David did (2 Sam. xii, 22): "While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; but being now dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him again? I shall go to him, but he cannot return to me." He that doth otherwise is an intemperate, a weak, a silly, and undiscreet man. Though Aristotle deny any part of intemperance to be conversant about sorrow, I am of Seneca's mind,[5] "He that is wise is temperate, and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion, and he that is such a one, is without sorrow," as all wise men should be. The Thracians wept still

when a child was born, feasted and made mirth when any man was buried: [1] and so should we rather be glad for such as die well, that they are so happily freed from the miseries of this life. When Eteoneus, that noble young Greek, was so generally lamented by his friends, Pindarus the poet feigns some god saying, *Silete homines, non enim miser est*, etc., Be quiet good folks, this young man is not so miserable as you think; he is neither gone to Styx nor Acheron, *sed gloriosus et senii expers heros*, he lives for ever in the Elysian Fields. He now enjoys that happiness which your great kings so earnestly seek, and wears that garland for which ye contend. If our present weakness is such, we cannot moderate our passions in this behalf, we must divert them by all means, by doing something else, thinking of another subject. The Italians most part sleep away care and grief, if it unseasonably seize upon them; Danes, Dutchmen, Polanders, and Bohemians drink it down; our countrymen go to plays. Do something or other, let it not transpose thee, or "by premeditation make such accidents familiar," [2] as Ulysses that wept for his dog, but not for his wife, *quod paratus esset animo obfirmato* [because he had prepared himself for the blow beforehand] (Plut. *de anim. tranq.*), accustom thyself, and harden beforehand by seeing other men's calamities, and applying them to thy present estate; *Prævisum est levius quod fuit ante malum* [an evil foreseen is easier to bear]. I will conclude with Epictetus,[3] "If thou lovest a pot, remember 'tis but a pot thou lovest, and thou wilt not be troubled when 'tis broken: if thou lovest a son or wife, remember they were mortal, and thou wilt not be so impatient." And so for false fears and all other fortuite inconveniences, mischances, calamities, to resist and prepare ourselves, not to faint is best: *Stultum est timere quod vitari non potest*,[4] 'tis a folly to fear that which cannot be avoided, or to be discouraged at all.

Nam quisquis trepidus pavet vel optat,
Abjecit clypeum, locoque motus
Nectit qua valeat trahi catenam.[5]

For he that so faints or fears, and yields to his passion, flings away his own weapons, makes a cord to bind himself, and pulls a beam upon his own head.

MEMB. VI.

Against Envy, Livor, Emulation, Hatred, Ambition, Self-love, and all other Affections

Against those other passions and affections,[1] there is no better remedy than, as mariners when they go to sea provide all things necessary to resist a tempest, to furnish ourselves with philosophical and divine precepts, other men's examples, *periculum ex aliis facere, sibi quod ex usu siet*[2] [to make trial on others of what is good for ourselves], to balance our hearts with love, charity, meekness, patience, and counterpoise those irregular motions of envy, livor, spleen, hatred, with their opposite virtues, as we bend a crooked staff another way; to oppose "sufferance to labour, patience to reproach,"[3] bounty to covetousness, fortitude to pusillanimity, meekness to anger, humility to pride; to examine ourselves for what cause we are so much disquieted, on what ground, what occasion, is it just or feigned; and then either to pacify ourselves by reason, to divert by some other object, contrary passion, or premeditation: *Meditari secum oportet quo pacto adversam ærumnam ferat, pericla, damna, exilia; peregre rediens semper cogitet, aut filii peccatum, aut uxoris mortem, aut morbum filiæ; communia esse hæc*[4] [he should always be thinking how he can bear misfortune, danger, loss, exile; on entering his house he should always be prepared to find his son in mischief, his wife dead, his daughter ill; to reflect that such things are common to all]; *fieri posse, ut ne quid animo sit novum,* [that it is possible] to make them familiar, even all kind of calamities, that when they happen they may be less troublesome unto us; *in secundis meditare, quo pacto feras adversa* [in good fortune to meditate how to bear adversity]; or out of mature judgment to avoid the effect, or disannul the cause, as they do that are troubled with toothache, pull them quite out.

> *U vivat castor, sibi testes amputat ipse;*
> *Tu quoque, siqua nocent, abjice, tutus eris.*[5]
>
> The beaver bites off 's stones to save the rest:
> Do thou the like with that thou art opprest.

Or, as they that play at wasters exercise themselves by a few cudgels how to avoid an enemy's blows, let us arm ourselves against all such violent incursions which may invade our minds. A little experience and practice will inure us to it; *vetula vulpes,*

as the proverb saith, *laqueo haud capitur*, an old fox is not so easily taken in a snare; an old soldier in the world methinks should not be disquieted, but ready to receive all fortunes, encounters, and, with that resolute captain, come what may come, to make answer:

Non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinaque surgit,
Omnia præcepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.[1]

No labour comes at unawares to me,
For I have long before cast what may be.

Non hoc primum mea pectora vulnus
Senserunt, graviora tuli.

[Not the first wound this my breast has felt; I have endured worse.]

The commonwealth of Venice in their armoury have this inscription, "Happy is that city which in time of peace thinks of war," [2] a fit motto for every man's private house; happy is the man that provides for a future assault. But many times we complain, repine, and mutter without a cause, we give way to passions we may resist and will not. Socrates was bad by nature, envious, as he confessed to Zopyrus the physiognomer accusing him of it, froward and lascivious: but as he was Socrates, he did correct and amend himself. Thou art malicious, envious, covetous, impatient, no doubt, and lascivious, yet, as thou art a Christian, correct and moderate thyself. 'Tis something, I confess, and able to move any man, to see himself contemned, obscure, neglected, disgraced, undervalued, "left behind";[3] some cannot endure it, no, not constant Lipsius, a man discreet otherwise, yet too weak and passionate in this, as his words express: *Collegas olim, quos ego sine fremitu non intueor, nuper terræ filios, nunc Mæcenates et Agrippas habeo—summo jam monte potitos*[4] [my former colleagues whom I cannot behold without indignation; lately nobodies, now Mæcenases and Agrippas, at the top of the tree]. But he was much to blame for it; to a wise staid man this is nothing, we cannot all be honoured and rich, all Cæsars; if we will be content, our present state is good, and in some men's opinion to be preferred. Let them go on, get wealth, offices, titles, honours, preferments, and what they will themselves, by chance, fraud, imposture, simony, and indirect means, as too many do, by bribery, flattery, and parasitical insinuation, by impudence and time-serving, let them climb up to advancement in despite of virtue, let them "go before, cross me

on every side," *me non offendunt, modo non in oculos incurrant*,[1] as he said, correcting his former error, they do not offend me, so long as they run not into mine eyes. I am inglorious and poor, *composita paupertate*, but I live secure and quiet: they are dignified, have great means, pomp, and state, they are glorious; but what have they with it? "Envy, trouble, anxiety, as much labour to maintain their place with credit as to get it at first."[2] I am contented with my fortunes, *spectator e longinquo* [a spectator from a distance], and love *Neptunum procul a terra spectare furentem* [to behold the raging sea from a safe spot on shore]: he is ambitious, and not satisfied with his: "but what gets he by it? to have all his life laid open, his reproaches seen: not one of a thousand but he hath done more worthy of dispraise and animadversion than commendation; no better means to help this than to be private."[3] Let them run, ride, strive as so many fishes for a crumb, scrape, climb, catch, snatch, cozen, collogue, temporize and fleer, take all amongst them, wealth, honour, and get what they can,[4] it offends me not:

Me mea tellus
Lare secreto tutoque tegat;[5]
[May I find in my own plot of land a safe and snug retreat;]

I am well pleased with my fortunes, *Vivo et regno simul ista relinquens*[6] [though relinquishing all this, I live like a king]. I have learned "in what state soever I am, therewith to be contented" (Phil. iv, 11). Come what can come, I am prepared. *Nave fera magna an parva* [whether I sail in a big or a little ship], *ferar unus et idem*, I am the same. I was once so mad to bustle abroad, and seek about for preferment, tire myself, and trouble all my friends, *sed nihil labor tantus profecit; nam dum alios amicorum mors avocat, aliis ignotus sum, his invisus, alii large promittunt, intercedunt illi mecum solliciti, hi vana spe lactant; dum alios ambio, hos capto, illis innotesco, ætas perit, anni defluunt, amici fatigantur, ego deferor, et jam, mundi tædus, humanæque satur infidelitatis, acquiesco* [but I gained nothing from all my labour. Some of my friends died, others would no longer know me, others even hated me; some made liberal promises and even pretended to intercede actively on my behalf and fed me with false hopes; so while I paid court to some and won over others and made myself known, I began to get on in years, time flowed on, my friends grew tired and I was constantly put off, until, weary of the world and sick of the faithlessness of men, I gave up the struggle]. And

so I say still; although I may not deny but that I have had some bountiful patrons[1] and noble benefactors, *ne sim interim ingratus* [not to lay myself open to the charge of ingratitude], and I do thankfully acknowledge it, I have received some kindness, *quod Deus illis beneficium rependat* [for which may God repay them], *si non pro votis, fortasse pro meritis*, more peradventure than I deserve, though not to my desire, more of them than I did expect, yet not of others to my desert; neither am I ambitious or covetous all this while, or a Suffenus[2] to myself; what I have said, without prejudice or alteration shall stand. And now as a mired horse that struggles at first with all his might and main to get out, but when he sees no remedy, that his beating will not serve, lies still, I have laboured in vain, rest satisfied, and if I may usurp that of Prudentius,[3]

Inveni portum; spes et fortuna valete,
Nil mihi vobiscum, ludite nunc alios.

Mine haven 's found; fortune and hope adieu,
Mock others now, for I have done with you.

MEMB. VII.

Against Repulse, Abuses, Injuries, Contempts, Disgraces, Contumelies, Slanders, Scoffs, etc.

I MAY not yet conclude, think to appease passions or quiet the mind, till such time as I have likewise removed some other of their more eminent and ordinary causes, which produce so grievous tortures and discontents. To divert all I cannot hope; to point alone at some few of the chiefest is that which I aim at.

Repulse and disgrace are two main causes of discontent, but to an understanding man not so hardly to be taken. Cæsar himself hath been denied, and when two stand equal in fortune, birth, and all other qualities alike, one of necessity must lose.[4] Why shouldst thou take it so grievously? It hath been a familiar thing for thee thyself to deny others. If every man might have what he would, we should all be deified, emperors, kings, princes; if whatsoever vain hope suggests, unsatiable appetite affects, our preposterous judgment thinks fit were granted, we should have another chaos in an instant, a mere confusion. It is some satisfaction to him that is repelled, that

dignities, honours, offices, are not always given by desert or worth, but for love, affinity, friendship, affection, great men's letters, or as commonly they are bought and sold.[1] "Honours in court are bestowed not according to men's virtues and good conditions" (as an old courtier observes), "but as every man hath means, or more potent friends, so he is preferred." [2] "With us in France" (for so their own countryman relates [3]) "most part the matter is carried by favour and grace; he that can get a great man to be his mediator, runs away with all the preferment." *Indignissimus plerumque præfertur, Vatinius Catoni, illaudatus laudatissimo* [the most unworthy are usually preferred, Vatinius to Cato, a man with no credentials to the most highly recommended]:

Servi dominantur; aselli
Ornantur phaleris, dephalerantur equi.

[Slaves rule; asses are decked with trappings, horses go without.]

An illiterate fool sits in a man's seat, and the common people hold him learned, grave, and wise. "One professeth" (Cardan well notes [4]) "for a thousand crowns, but he deserves not ten, whenas he that deserves a thousand cannot get ten." *Salarium non dat multis salem* [many do not get salt from their salary]. As good horses draw in carts as coaches. And oftentimes, which Machiavel seconds, *principes non sunt qui ob insignem virtutem principatu digni sunt* [5] [those are not princes who for their distinguished merit should be such], he that is most worthy wants employment; he that hath skill to be a pilot wants a ship, and he that could govern a commonwealth, a world itself, a king in conceit, wants means to exercise his worth, hath not a poor office to manage. And yet all this while he is a better man that is fit to reign, *etsi careat regno*, though he want a kingdom, "than he that hath one, and knows not how to rule it." [6] A lion serves not always his keeper, but oftentimes the keeper the lion, and as Polydore Virgil hath it,[7] *multi reges ut pupilli ob inscitiam non regunt sed reguntur* [many kings, on account of their ignorance, have to be ruled, like schoolboys, instead of ruling]. Hiero of Syracuse was a brave king, but wanted a kingdom; Perseus of Macedon had nothing of a king but the bare name and title, for he could not govern it: so great places are often ill bestowed, worthy persons unrespected. Many times, too, the servants have more means than the masters whom they serve, which Epictetus [8] counts an eye-sore and

inconvenient. But who can help it? It is an ordinary thing in these days to see a base impudent ass, illiterate, unworthy, unsufficient, to be preferred before his betters, because he can put himself forward, because he looks big, can bustle in the world, hath a fair outside, can temporize, collogue, insinuate, or hath good store of friends and money, whereas a more discreet, modest, and better-deserving man shall lie hid or have a repulse. 'Twas so of old, and ever will be, and which Tiresias advised Ulysses in the poet,[1] *Accipe qua ratione queas ditescere* [hear how you can make yourself rich], etc., is still in use; lie, flatter, and dissemble: if not, as he concludes, *Ergo pauper eris*, then go like a beggar, as thou art. Erasmus, Melancthon, Lipsius, Budæus, Cardan, lived and died poor. Gesner was a silly old man, *baculo innixus* [leaning on his stick], amongst all those huffing cardinals, swelling bishops, that flourished in his time and rode on foot-clothes. It is not honesty, learning, worth, wisdom, that prefers men. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," but, as the wise man[2] said, chance, and sometimes a ridiculous chance. *Casus plerumque ridiculus multos elevavit.*[3] 'Tis fortune's doings, as they say, which made Brutus now dying exclaim, *O misera virtus! ergo nihil quam verba eras, atqui ego te tanquam rem excercebam, sed tu serviebas fortunæ* [Out on thee, virtue! Thou wast, then, nothing but a name. I practised thee as something real, and thou wast but the slave of fortune]. Believe it hereafter, O my friends! virtue serves fortune. Yet be not discouraged (O my well-deserving spirits) with this which I have said, it may be otherwise, though seldom I confess, yet sometimes it is. But to your further content, I 'll tell you a tale.[4] In Moronia Pia, or Moronia Felix,[5] I know not whether, nor how long since, nor in what cathedral church, a fat prebend fell void. The carcass scarce cold, many suitors were up in an instant. The first had rich friends, a good purse, and he was resolved to outbid any man before he would lose it, every man supposed he should carry it. The second was my lord bishop's chaplain (in whose gift it was), and he thought it his due to have it. The third was nobly born, and he meant to get it by his great parents, patrons, and allies. The fourth stood upon his worth, he had newly found out strange mysteries in chemistry, and other rare inventions, which he would detect to the public good. The fifth was a painful preacher, and he was commended by the whole parish where he dwelt, he had all their hands to his certificate. The sixth was the prebendary's son lately deceased,

his father died in debt (for it, as they say), left a wife and many poor children. The seventh stood upon fair promises, which to him and his noble friends had been formerly made for the next place in his lordship's gift. The eighth pretended great losses, and what he had suffered for the Church, what pains he had taken at home and abroad, and besides, he brought noblemen's letters. The ninth had married a kinswoman, and he sent his wife to sue for him. The tenth was a foreign doctor, a late convert, and wanted means. The eleventh would exchange for another, he did not like the former's site, could not agree with his neighbours and fellows upon any terms, he would be gone. The twelfth and last was (a suitor in conceit) a right honest, civil, sober man, an excellent scholar, and such a one as lived private in the university, but he had neither means nor money to compass it; besides he hated all such courses, he could not speak for himself, neither had he any friends to solicit his cause, and therefore made no suit, could not expect, neither did he hope for, or look after it. The good bishop, amongst a jury of competitors thus perplexed, and not yet resolved what to do or on whom to bestow it, at the last, of his own accord, mere motion, and bountiful nature, gave it freely to the university student, altogether unknown to him but by fame; and to be brief, the academical scholar had the prebend sent him for a present. The news was no sooner published abroad, but all good students rejoiced, and were much cheered up with it, though some would not believe it; others, as men amazed, said it was a miracle; but one amongst the rest thanked God for it, and said, *Nunc juvat tandem studiosum esse, et Deo integro corde servire* [now at length it proves worth while to be studious, and to serve God whole-heartedly]. You have heard my tale: but alas! it is but a tale, a mere fiction, 'twas never so, never like to be, and so let it rest. Well, be it so then; they have wealth and honour, fortune and preferment, every man (there 's no remedy) must scamble as he may, and shift as he can; yet Cardan comforted himself with this, "the star Fomalhaut would make him immortal," [1] and that after his decease his books should be found in ladies' studies.[2] *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori* [3] [the Muse suffers not to die the man deserving of fame]. But why shouldst thou take thy neglect, thy canvas, so to heart? It may be thou art not fit; but as a child that puts on his father's shoes, hat, headpiece, breastplate, breeches, or holds his spear, but is neither able to wield the one or wear the other,[4] so wouldst thou do by

such an office, place, or magistracy: thou art unfit. "And what is dignity to an unworthy man, but" (as Salvianus holds [1]) "a gold ring in a swine's snout?" Thou art a brute. Like a bad actor (so Plutarch compares such men [2]) in a tragedy, *diadema fert, at vox non auditur:* thou wouldst play a king's part, but actest a clown, speakest like an ass. *Magna petis, Phaethon, et quæ non viribus istis* [3] [a great thing is this thou aimest at, Phaethon, something beyond thy strength], etc., as James and John, the sons of Zebedee, did ask they knew not what; *nescis, temerarie, nescis:* thou dost, as another Suffenus, overween thyself; thou art wise in thine own conceit, but in other more mature judgment altogether unfit to manage such a business. Or be it thou art more deserving than any of thy rank, God in His providence hath reserved thee for some other fortunes, *sic superis visum* [so the gods have willed]. Thou art humble as thou art, it may be; hadst thou been preferred, thou wouldst have forgotten God and thyself, insulted over others, contemned thy friends, been a block, a tyrant, or a demi-god,[4] *sequiturque superbia formam* [and beauty inspires pride]. "Therefore," saith Chrysostom, "good men do not always find grace and favour, lest they should be puffed up with turgent titles, grow insolent and proud." [5]

Injuries, abuses, are very offensive, and so much the more in that they think *veterem ferendo invitant novam,* by taking one they provoke another: but it is an erroneous opinion, for if that were true, there would be no end of abusing each other; *lis litem generat* [one quarrel provokes another]; 'tis much better with patience to bear, or quietly to put it up. If an ass kick me, saith Socrates, shall I strike him again? And when his wife Xantippe struck and misused him,[6] to some friends that would have had him strike her again, he replied that he would not make them sport, or that they should stand by and say, *Eia Socrates! eia Xantippe!* [Go it, Socrates! go it, Xantippe!] as we do when dogs fight, animate them the more by clapping of hands. Many men spend themselves, their goods, friends, fortunes, upon small quarrels, and sometimes at other men's procurements, with much vexation of spirit and anguish of mind, all which with good advice or mediation of friends might have been happily composed, or if patience had taken place. Patience in such cases is a most sovereign remedy, to put up, conceal, or dissemble it, to forget and forgive,[7] "not seven, but seventy-seven times," [8] "as often as he repents forgive him" (Luke xvii, 3), as our Saviour enjoins us, stroken, "to

turn the other side": [1] as our Apostle persuades us,[2] "to recompense no man evil for evil, but as much as is possible to have peace with all men: not to avenge ourselves, and we shall heap burning coals upon our adversary's head." "For if you put up wrong" (as Chrysostom comments), "you get the victory; he that loseth his money loseth not the conquest in this our philosophy." [3] If he contend with thee, submit thyself unto him first, yield to him. *Durum et durum non faciunt murum*, as the diverb is, two refractory spirits will never agree, the only means to overcome is to relent, *obsequio vinces* [you will conquer by giving way]. Euclid in Plutarch, when his brother had angered him, swore he would be revenged; but he gently replied, "Let me not live if I do not make thee to love me again," [4] upon which meek answer he was pacified.

Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus,
Frangis si vires experiare tuas.[5]

A branch if easily bended yields to thee,
Pull hard it breaks: the difference you see.

The noble family of the Columni [6] in Rome, when they were expelled the city by that furious Alexander the Sixth, gave the bending branch therefore as an impress, with this motto, *Flecti potest, frangi non potest*, to signify that he might break them by force, but so never make them stoop, for they fled in the midst of their hard usage to the kingdom of Naples, and were honourably entertained by Frederick the king, according to their callings. Gentleness in this case might have done much more, and let thine adversary be never so perverse, it may be by that means thou mayst win him; *favore et benevolentia etiam immanis animus mansuescit*,[7] soft words pacify wrath, and the fiercest spirits are so soonest overcome; a generous lion will not hurt a beast that lies prostrate, nor an elephant an innocuous creature, but is *infestus infestis*, a terror and scourge alone to such as are stubborn and make resistance.[8] It was the symbol of Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and he was not mistaken in it, for

Quo quisque est major, magis est placabilis iræ,
Et faciles motus mens generosa capit.[9]

A greater man is soonest pacified,
A noble spirit quickly satisfied.

It is reported by Gualter Mapes,[10] an old historiographer of ours (who lived 400 years since), that King Edward senior, and

Leolin, Prince of Wales, being at an interview near Aust upon Severn, in Gloucestershire, and the prince, sent for, refused to come to the king; he would needs go over to him: which Leolin perceiving, "went up to the arms in water, and embracing his boat, would have carried him out upon his shoulders, adding that his humility and wisdom had triumphed over his pride and folly";[1] and thereupon was reconciled unto him and did his homage. If thou canst not so win him, put it up; if thou beest a true Christian, a good divine, an imitator of Christ, ("for he was reviled and put it up, whipped and sought no revenge"[2]), thou wilt pray for thine enemies, "and bless them that persecute thee";[3] be patient, meek, humble, etc. An honest man will not offer thee injury, *probus non vult*; if he were a brangling knave, 'tis his fashion so to do; where is least heart is most tongue; *quo quisque stultior, eo magis insolescit*, the more sottish he is, still the more insolent. "Do not answer a fool according to his folly."[4] If he be thy superior, bear it by all means, grieve not at it, let him take his course;[5] Anytus and Meletus "may kill me,[6] they cannot hurt me," as that generous Socrates made answer in like case. *Mens immota manet*, though the body be torn in pieces with wild horses, broken on the wheel, pinched with fiery tongs, the soul cannot be distracted. 'Tis an ordinary thing for great men to vilify and insult, oppress, injure, tyrannize, to take what liberty they list, and who dare speak against? *Miserum est ab eo lædi, a quo non possis queri*, a miserable thing 'tis to be injured of him from whom is no appeal: and not safe to write against him that can proscribe and punish a man at his pleasure,[7] which Asinius Pollio was ware of, when Octavianus provoked him. 'Tis hard, I confess, to be so injured: one of Chilo's three difficult things: "To keep counsel, spend his time well, put up injuries";[8] but be thou patient, and leave revenge unto the Lord. "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord."[9] "I know the Lord," saith David,[10] "will avenge the afflicted and judge the poor." "No man" (as Plato further adds) "can so severely punish his adversary, as God will such as oppress miserable men."[11]

Iterum ille rem judicatam judicat,
Majoreque mulcta mulctat.[12]

[He tries once more the case after it has been decided,
and inflicts a heavier penalty.]

If there be any religion, any God, and that God be just, it shall be so; if thou believest the one, believe the other: *erit, erit*, it

shall be so. Nemesis comes after, *sero sed serio* [slowly but surely], stay but a little and thou shalt see God's just judgment overtake him.

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.[1]

[Yet with sure steps, though lame and slow,
Vengeance o'ertakes the trembling villain's speed.

Thou shalt perceive that verified of Samuel to Agag (1 Sam. xv, 33): "Thy sword hath made many women childless, so shall thy mother be childless amongst other women." It shall be done to them as they have done to others. Conradinus, that brave Suevian prince, came with a well-prepared army into the kingdom of Naples, was taken prisoner by King Charles, and put to death in the flower of his youth; a little after (*ultionem Conradini mortis* [a nemesis for the death of Conradinus], Pandulphus Collinutius, *Hist. Neap. lib.* 5, calls it), King Charles his own son, with two hundred nobles, was so taken prisoner, and beheaded in like sort. Not in this only, but in all other offences, *quo quisque peccat in eo punietur*,[2] they shall be punished in the same kind, in the same part, like nature, eye with or in the eye, head with or in the head, persecution with persecution, lust with effects of lust; let them march on with ensigns displayed, let drums beat on, trumpets sound taratantarra, let them sack cities, take the spoil of countries, murder infants, deflower virgins, destroy, burn, persecute, and tyrannize, they shall be fully rewarded at last in the same measure, they and theirs, and that to their desert.

Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.[3]

Few tyrants in their beds do die,
But stabb'd or maim'd to hell they hie.

Oftentimes too a base contemptible fellow is the instrument of God's justice to punish, to torture, and vex them, as an ichneumon doth a crocodile. They shall be recompensed according to the works of their hands, as Haman was hanged on the gallows he provided for Mordecai. "They shall have sorrow of heart, and be destroyed from under the heaven" (Lam. iii, 64, 65, 66). Only be thou patient: *vincit qui patitur*[4] [he who suffers conquers]: and in the end thou shalt be crowned. Yea, but 'tis a hard matter to do this, flesh and blood may not abide it; 'tis *grave, grave!* No (Chrysostom replies), *non est grave, o homo!* 'tis not so grievous, "neither had God commanded it,

if it had been so difficult." But how shall it be done? "Easily," as he follows it, "if thou shalt look to heaven, behold the beauty of it, and what God hath promised to such as put up injuries." [1] But if thou resist and go about *vim vi repellere* [to repel force with force], as the custom of the world is, to right thyself, or hast given just cause of offence, 'tis no injury then, but a condign punishment; thou hast deserved as much: *A te principium, in te recidit crimen quod a te fuit; peccasti, quiesce* [thou didst commence; the crime thou didst commit has recoiled on thine own head; thou hast sinned, hold thy peace], as Ambrose expostulates with Cain, *lib. 3 de Abel et Cain.* Dionysius of Syracuse,[2] in his exile, was made to stand without door, *patienter ferendum, fortasse nos tale quid fecimus, quum in honore essemus* [we must endure patiently; perhaps we did something of the same kind when we were great], he wisely put it up, and laid the fault where it was, on his own pride and scorn, which in his prosperity he had formerly showed others. 'Tis Tully's axiom,[3] *ferre ea molestissime homines non debent, quæ ipsorum culpa contracta sunt* [men should not chafe at sufferings which they have brought on themselves by their own fault]; self do, self have, as the saying is, they may thank themselves. For he that doth wrong must look to be wronged again; *habet et musca splenem, et formicæ sua bilis inest*; the least fly hath a spleen, and a little bee a sting. An ass overwhelmed a thistlewarp's nest, the little bird pecked his galled back in revenge; [4] and the humble-bee in the fable flung down the eagle's eggs out of Jupiter's lap. Bracides, in Plutarch, put his hand into a mouse's nest and hurt her young ones, she bit him by the finger: "I see now" (saith he), "there is no creature so contemptible that will not be revenged." [5] 'Tis *lex talionis*, and the nature of all things so to do: if thou wilt live quietly thyself, do no wrong to others; [6] if any be done thee, put it up, with patience endure it, for "this is thankworthy," saith our Apostle,[7] "if any man for conscience towards God endure grief, and suffer wrong undeserved; for what praise is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently? But if when you do well, ye suffer wrong, and take it patiently, there is thanks with God; for hereunto verily we are called." *Qui mala non fert, ipse sibi testis est per impatientiam quod bonus non est*, he that cannot bear injuries witnesseth against himself that he is no good man, as Gregory holds. "'Tis the nature of wicked men to do injuries, as it is the property of all honest men patiently to bear them." [8] *Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio* [wickedness is swayed by no

concession]. The wolf in the emblem [1] sucked the goat (so the shepherd would have it), but he kept nevertheless a wolf's nature; a knave will be a knave.[2] Injury is on the other side a good man's footboy, his *fidus Achates*, and as a lackey follows him wheresoever he goes. Besides, *misera est fortuna quæ caret inimico*, he is in a miserable estate that wants enemies; it is a thing not to be avoided, and therefore with more patience to be endured.[3] Cato Censorius, that upright Cato of whom Paterculus gives that honourable *elogium* [encomium], *Bene fecit quod aliter facere non potuit* [he acted uprightly because he could not act otherwise], was fifty times indicted and accused by his fellow-citizens,[4] and, as Ammianus well hath it,[5] *Quis erit innocens si clam vel palam accusasse sufficiat?* if it be sufficient to accuse a man openly or in private, who shall be free? If there were no other respect than that of Christianity, religion, and the like, to induce men to be long-suffering and patient, yet methinks the nature of injury itself is sufficient to keep them quiet; the tumults, uproars, miseries, discontents, anguish, loss, dangers that attend upon it might restrain the calamities of contention: for as it is with ordinary gamesters, the gains go to the box, so falls it out to such as contend; the lawyers get all; and therefore if they would consider of it, *aliena pericula cautos*, other men's misfortunes in this kind, and common experience, might detain them. The more they contend, the more they are involved in a labyrinth of woes,[6] and the catastrophe is to consume one another, like the elephant and dragon's conflict in Pliny; [7] the dragon got under the elephant's belly, and sucked his blood so long, till he fell down dead upon the dragon, and killed him with the fall, so both were ruined. 'Tis an hydra's head, contention; the more they strive, the more they may: and as Praxiteles did by his glass, when he saw a scurvy face in it, brake it in pieces; but for that one he saw many more as bad in a moment: for one injury done they provoke another *cum fœnore* [with interest], and twenty enemies for one. *Noli irritare crabrones* [don't stir up a hornet's nest], oppose not thyself to a multitude: but if thou hast received a wrong, wisely consider of it, and if thou canst possibly, compose thyself with patience to bear it. This is the safest course, and thou shalt find greatest ease to be quiet.

I say the same of scoffs, slanders, contumelies, obloquies, defamations, detractions, pasquilling libels, and the like, which may tend anyway to our disgrace: 'tis but opinion; if we could neglect, contemn, or with patience digest them, they would

reflect on them that offered them at first.[1] A wise citizen, I know not whence, had a scold to his wife: when she brawled, he played on his drum, and by that means madded her more, because she saw that he would not be moved. Diogenes in a crowd, when one called him back and told him how the boys laughed him to scorn, *Ego, inquit, non rideor* [I, he said, am not being laughed at], took no notice of it. Socrates was brought upon the stage by Aristophanes, and misused to his face, but he laughed as if it concerned him not: and as Ælian relates of him, whatsoever good or bad accident or fortune befell him, going in or coming out, Socrates still kept the same countenance; even so should a Christian soldier do, as Hierome describes him, *per infamiam et bonam famam grassari ad immortalitatem*, march on through good and bad reports to immortality, not to be moved:[2] for honesty is a sufficient reward, *probitas sibi præmium*, and in our times the sole recompense to do well, is to do well: but naughtiness will punish itself at last, *improbis ipsa nequitia supplicium*.[3] As the diverb is,

> *Qui bene fecerunt, illi sua facta sequentur;*
> *Qui male fecerunt, facta sequentur eos:*
> They that do well, shall have reward at last:
> But they that ill, shall suffer for that 's past.

Yea, but I am ashamed, disgraced, dishonoured, degraded, exploded: my notorious crimes and villainies are come to light (*deprendi miserum est* [it is a wretched thing to be caught]), my filthy lust, abominable oppression and avarice lies open, my good name 's lost, my fortune 's gone, I have been stigmatized, whipped at post, arraigned and condemned, I am a common obloquy, I have lost my ears, odious, execrable, abhorred of God and men. Be content, 'tis but a nine days' wonder, and as one sorrow drives out another, one passion another, one cloud another, one rumour is expelled by another; every day almost come new news unto our ears, as how the sun was eclipsed, meteors seen i' th' air, monsters born, prodigies, how the Turks were overthrown in Persia, an earthquake in Helvetia, Calabria, Japan, or China, an inundation in Holland, a great plague in Constantinople, a fire at Prague, a dearth in Germany, such a man is made a lord, a bishop, another hanged, deposed, pressed to death, for some murder, treason, rape, theft, oppression, all which we do hear at first with a kind of admiration, detestation, consternation, but by and by they are buried in silence: thy father 's dead, thy brother robbed, wife runs mad, neighbour

hath killed himself; 'tis heavy, ghastly, fearful news at first, in every man's mouth, table talk; but after a while who speaks or thinks of it? It will be so with thee and thine offence, it will be forgotten in an instant, be it theft, rape, sodomy, murder, incest, treason, etc.; thou art not the first offender, nor shalt not be the last, 'tis no wonder, every hour such malefactors are called in question, nothing so common, *Quocunque in populo, quocunque sub axe* [in every people, in every clime]. Comfort thyself, thou art not the sole man. If he that were guiltless himself should fling the first stone at thee, and he alone should accuse thee that were faultless, how many executioners, how many accusers wouldst thou have? If every man's sins were written in his forehead, and secret faults known, how many thousands would parallel, if not exceed, thine offence! It may be the judge that gave sentence, the jury that condemned thee, the spectators that gazed on thee, deserved much more, and were far more guilty than thou thyself. But it is thine infelicity to be taken, to be made a public example of justice, to be a terror to the rest; yet should every man have his desert, thou wouldst peradventure be a saint in comparison; *vexat censura columbas* [even the doves are criticized], poor souls are punished; the great ones do twenty thousand times worse, and are not so much as spoken of.

Non rete accipitri tenditur neque milvio,
Qui male faciunt nobis; illis qui nil faciunt tenditur.[1]

The net 's not laid for kites or birds of prey,
But for the harmless still our gins we lay.

Be not dismayed then, *humanum est errare*, we are all sinners, daily and hourly subject to temptations, the best of us is a hypocrite, a grievous offender in God's sight; Noah, Lot, David, Peter, etc., how many mortal sins do we commit! Shall I say, be penitent, ask forgiveness, and make amends by the sequel of thy life for that foul offence thou hast committed? recover thy credit by some noble exploit, as Themistocles did, for he was a most deboshed and vicious youth, *sed juventæ maculas præclaris factis delevit*, but made the world amends by brave exploits; at last become a new man, and seek to be reformed. He that runs away in a battle, as Demosthenes said, may fight again; and he that hath a fall may stand as upright as ever he did before. *Nemo desperet meliora lapsus* [let no man despair of making good a lapse], a wicked liver may be reclaimed, and prove an honest man; he that is odious in present, hissed out,

an exile, may be received again with all men's favours, and singular applause; so Tully was in Rome, Alcibiades in Athens. Let thy disgrace then be what it will, *quod fit, infectum non potest esse,* that which is past cannot be recalled; trouble not thyself, vex and grieve thyself no more, be it obloquy, disgrace, etc. No better way than to neglect, contemn, or seem not to regard it, to make no reckoning of it, *Deesse robur arguit dicacitas* [too much talking indicates a lack of strength]: if thou be guiltless it concerns thee not.

Irrita vaniloquæ quid curas spicula linguæ?
Latrantem curatne alta Diana canem? [1]

[What carest thou for the vain shafts of a slanderous tongue?] Doth the moon care for the barking of a dog? They detract, scoff and rail, saith one,[2] and bark at me on every side, but I, like that Albanian dog sometime given to Alexander for a present, *vindico me ab illis solo contemptu,* I lie still and sleep, vindicate myself by contempt alone. *Expers terroris Achilles armatus* [3] [Achilles armed knows not fear]: as a tortoise in his shell, *virtutue mea me involvo* [4] [I wrap myself in my own virtue], or an urchin round, *nil moror ictus* [I heed not their blows], a lizard in camomile,[5] I decline their fury and am safe.

Integritas virtusque suo munimine tuta,
Non patet adversæ morsibus invidiæ:

Virtue and integrity are their own fence,
Care not for envy or what comes from thence.

Let them rail then, scoff, and slander, *sapiens contumelia non afficitur,* a wise man, Seneca thinks, is not moved, because he knows, *contra sycophantæ morsum non est remedium,* there is no remedy for it: kings and princes, wise, grave, prudent, holy, good men, divine, all are so served alike. *O Jane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit* [6] [O Janus, who hast never been caricatured from behind], Antevorta and Postvorta, Jupiter's guardians, may not help in this case, they cannot protect; Moses had a Dathan, a Corah, David a Shimei, God Himself is blasphemed: *nondum felix es si te nondum turba deridet* [thou art not yet fortunate if the crowd has not yet mocked thee]. It is an ordinary thing so to be misused. *Regium est cum bene feceris male audire* [7] [it is a royal privilege to act well and yet be ill spoken of], the chiefest men and most understanding are so vilified; let him take his course.[8] And as that lusty courser in Æsop, that contemned the poor ass, came by and by after with

his bowels burst, a pack on his back, and was derided of the same ass: *contemnentur ab iis quos ipsi prius contempsere, et irridebuntur ab iis quos ipsi prius irrisere,* they shall be contemned and laughed to scorn of those whom they have formerly derided. Let them contemn, defame, or undervalue, insult, oppress, scoff, slander, abuse, wrong, curse and swear, feign and lie, do thou comfort thyself with a good conscience, *in sinu gaudeas* [rejoice in your own heart], when they have all done, "a good conscience is a continual feast," [1] innocency will vindicate itself: and which the poet gave out of Hercules, *Diis fruitur iratis* [he enjoys the anger of the gods], enjoy thyself, though all the world be set against thee, contemn and say with him, *Elogium mihi præ foribus* [my epitaph is writ large], my posy is, "not to be moved; that my palladium, my breast-plate, my buckler, with which I ward all injuries, offences, lies, slanders; I lean upon that stake of modesty, so receive and break asunder all that foolish force of livor and spleen." [2] And whosoever he is that shall observe these short instructions, without all question he shall much ease and benefit himself.

In fine, if princes would do justice, judges be upright, clergymen truly devout, and so live as they teach, if great men would not be so insolent, if soldiers would quietly defend us, the poor would be patient, rich men would be liberal and humble, citizens honest, magistrates meek, superiors would give good example, subjects peaceable, young men would stand in awe: if parents would be kind to their children, and they again obedient to their parents, brethren agree amongst themselves, enemies be reconciled, servants trusty to their masters, virgins chaste, wives modest, husbands would be loving and less jealous: if we could imitate Christ and His apostles, live after God's laws, these mischiefs would not so frequently happen amongst us; but being most part so irreconcilable as we are, perverse, proud, insolent, factious, and malicious, prone to contention, anger and revenge, of such fiery spirits, so captious, impious, irreligious, so opposite to virtue, void of grace, how should it otherwise be? Many men are very testy by nature, apt to mistake, apt to quarrel, apt to provoke and misinterpret to the worst everything that is said or done, and thereupon heap unto themselves a great deal of trouble, and disquietness to others; smatterers in other men's matters, tale-bearers, whisperers, liars, they cannot speak in season, or hold their tongues when they should, *et suam partem itidem tacere, cum aliena est oratio:* [3] they will speak more than comes to their

shares, in all companies, and by those bad courses accumulate much evil to their own souls (*qui contendit, sibi convicium facit* [he who quarrels brings reproach upon himself]), their life is a perpetual brawl, they snarl like so many dogs, with their wives, children, servants, neighbours, and all the rest of their friends, they can agree with nobody. But to such as are judicious, meek, submiss, and quiet, these matters are easily remedied; they will forbear upon all such occasions, neglect, contemn, or take no notice of them, dissemble, or wisely turn it off. If it be a natural impediment, as a red nose, squint eyes, crooked legs, or any such imperfection, infirmity, disgrace, reproach, the best way is to speak of it first thyself,[1] and so thou shalt surely take away all occasions from others to jest at, or contemn, that they may perceive thee to be careless of it; Vatinius was wont to scoff at his own deformed feet, to prevent his enemies' obloquies and sarcasms in that kind; or else by prevention, as Cotys, King of Thrace, that brake a company of fine glasses presented to him, with his own hands, lest he should be over-much moved when they were broken by chance. And sometimes again, so that it be discreetly and moderately done, it shall not be amiss to make resistance, to take down such a saucy companion; no better means to vindicate himself to purchase final peace: for he that suffers himself to be ridden, or through pusillanimity or sottishness will let every man baffle him, shall be a common laughing-stock for all to flout at. As a cur that goes through a village, if he clap his tail between his legs and run away, every cur will insult over him; but if he bristle up himself and stand to it, give but a counter-snarl, there 's not a dog dares meddle with him: much is in a man's courage and discreet carriage of himself.

Many other grievances there are, which happen to mortals in this life, from friends, wives, children, servants, masters, companions, neighbours, our own defaults, ignorance, errors, intemperance, indiscretion, infirmities, etc., and many good remedies to mitigate and oppose them, many divine precepts to counterpoise our hearts, special antidotes both in Scripture and human authors, which whoso will observe shall purchase much ease and quietness unto himself. I will point at a few. Those prophetical, apostolical admonitions are well known to all; what Solomon, Siracides, our Saviour Christ Himself hath said tending to this purpose, as, "Fear God: obey the prince: be sober and watch: pray continually: be angry, but sin not: remember thy last: fashion not yourselves to this world, etc.:

apply yourselves to the times: strive not with a mighty man: recompense good for evil: let nothing be done through contention or vainglory, but with meekness of mind, every man esteeming of others better than himself: love one another"; or that epitome of the law and the prophets, which our Saviour inculcates, "Love God above all, thy neighbour as thyself": and "Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, so do unto them," which Alexander Severus writ in letters of gold and used as a motto, Hierome commends to Celantia as an excellent way,[1] amongst so many enticements and worldly provocations, to rectify her life. Out of human authors take these few cautions: "Know thyself.[2] Be contented with thy lot.[3] Trust not wealth, beauty, nor parasites, they will bring thee to destruction.[4] Have peace with all men, war with vice.[5] Be not idle.[6] Look before you leap.[7] Beware of Had I wist.[8] Honour thy parents, speak well of friends.[9] Be temperate in four things, *lingua, locis, oculis, et poculis* [in speech, in going about, in looking, and in drinking]. Watch thine eye. Moderate thine expenses. Hear much, speak little.[10] *Sustine et abstine*[11] [bear and refrain]. If thou seest aught amiss in another, mend it in thyself. Keep thine own counsel, reveal not thy secrets, be silent in thine intentions. Give not ear to tale-tellers, babblers,[12] be not scurrilous in conversation. Jest without bitterness:[13] give no man cause of offence: set thine house in order: take heed of suretyship.[14] *Fide et diffide*[15] [trust and mistrust], as a fox on the ice, take heed whom you trust. Live not beyond thy means.[16] Give cheerfully.[17] Pay thy dues willingly. Be not a slave to thy money. Omit not occasion, embrace opportunity, lose no time.[18] Be humble to thy superiors, respective to thine equals, affable to all, but not familiar.[19] Flatter no man. Lie not, dissemble not.[20] Keep thy word and promise, be constant in a good resolution. Speak truth. Be not opinative, maintain no factions. Lay no wagers, make no comparisons. Find no faults, meddle not with other men's matters.[21] Admire not thyself. Be not proud or popular.[22] Insult not. *Fortunam reverenter habe* [bear fortune modestly]. Fear not that which cannot be avoided.[23] Grieve not for that which cannot be recalled.[24] Undervalue not thyself.[25] Accuse no man, commend no man rashly.[26] Go not to law without great cause. Strive not with a greater man. Cast not off an old friend. Take heed of a reconciled enemy. If thou come as a guest, stay not too long.[27] Be not unthankful. Be meek, merciful, and patient. Do good to all. Be not fond of fair

words. Be not a neuter in a faction.[1] Moderate thy passions. Think no place without a witness.[2] Admonish thy friend in secret, commend him in public.[3] Keep good company. Love others, to be beloved thyself.[4] *Ama tanquam osurus* [in loving remember that you may one day hate]. *Amicus tardo fias* [form friendships slowly]. Provide for a tempest. *Noli irritare crabrones* [do not stir up a hornet's nest]. Do not prostitute thy soul for gain. Make not a fool of thyself to make others merry. Marry not an old crone or a fool for money. Be not over solicitous or curious. Seek that which may be found. Seem not greater than thou art. Take thy pleasure soberly. *Ocymum ne terito* [do not grind clover]. Live merrily as thou canst.[5] Take heed by other men's examples.[6] Go as thou wouldst be met, sit as thou wouldst be found. Yield to the time, follow the stream.[7] Wilt thou live free from fears and cares? Live innocently, keep thyself upright, thou needest no other keeper,"[8] etc. Look for more in Isocrates, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, etc., and for defect, consult with cheese-trenchers and painted cloths.

MEMB. VIII.

Against Melancholy itself

"EVERY man," saith Seneca, "thinks his own burthen the heaviest,"[9] and a melancholy man above all others complains most; weariness of life, abhorring all company and light, fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, bashfulness, and those other dread symptoms of body and mind, must needs aggravate this misery; yet, conferred to other maladies, they are not so heinous as they be taken. For first, this disease is either in habit or disposition, curable or incurable. If new and in disposition, 'tis commonly pleasant, and it may be helped. If inveterate, or a habit, yet they have *lucida intervalla* [lucid intervals], sometimes well, and sometimes ill; or if more continuate, as the Veientes were to the Romans,[10] 'tis *hostis magis assiduus quam gravis*, a more durable enemy than dangerous: and amongst many inconveniences, some comforts are annexed to it. First, it is not catching, and, as Erasmus comforted himself when he was grievously sick of the stone, though it was most trouble-some, and an intolerable pain to him, yet it was no whit

offensive to others, not loathsome to the spectators, ghastly, fulsome, terrible, as plagues, apoplexies, leprosies, wounds, sores, tetters, pox, pestilent agues are, which either admit of no company, terrify or offend those that are present. In this malady, that which is is wholly to themselves, and those symptoms not so dreadful, if they be compared to the opposite extremes. They are most part bashful, suspicious, solitary, etc., therefore no such ambitious, impudent intruders as some are, no sharkers, no cony-catchers, no prowlers, no smell-feasts, praters, panders, parasites, bawds, drunkards, whoremasters; necessity and defect compel them to be honest; as Micio told Demea in the comedy,[1]

Hæc si neque ego neque tu fecimus,
Non sinit egestas facere nos;

if we be honest 'twas poverty made us so: if we melancholy men be not as bad as he that is worst, 'tis our dame Melancholy kept us so: *Non deerat voluntas sed facultas* [not the will but the power was wanting].

Besides, they are freed in this from many other infirmities, solitariness makes them more apt to contemplate, suspicion wary, which is a necessary humour in these times, *nam pol qui maxime cavet, is sæpe cautor captus est,*[2] he that takes most heed is often circumvented and overtaken. Fear and sorrow keep them temperate and sober, and free them from many dissolute acts, which jollity and boldness thrust men upon: they are therefore no *sicarii*, roaring boys, thieves, or assassinates. As they are soon dejected, so they are as soon, by soft words and good persuasions, reared. Wearisomeness of life makes them they are not so besotted on the transitory vain pleasures of the world. If they dote in one thing, they are wise and well understanding in most other. If it be inveterate, they are *insensati*, most part doting, or quite mad, insensible to any wrongs, ridiculous to others, but most happy and secure to themselves. Dotage is a state which many much magnify and commend: so is simplicity, and folly, as he said, *Hic furor, o superi, sit mihi perpetuus* [3] [with this madness I pray the gods I may ever be afflicted]. Some think fools and dizzards live the merriest lives, as Ajax in Sophocles, *Nihil scire vita jucundissima*, 'tis the pleasantest life to know nothing; *iners malorum remedium ignorantia*, ignorance is a downright remedy of evils. These curious arts and laborious sciences, Galen's, Tully's, Aristotle's, Justinian's, do but trouble the world, some think; we might

live better with that illiterate Virginian simplicity, and gross ignorance; entire idiots do best, they are not macerated with cares, tormented with fears, and anxiety, as other wise men are: for, as he said,[1] if folly were a pain, you should hear them howl, roar, and cry out in every house, as you go by in the street, but they are most free, jocund, and merry, and in some countries, as amongst the Turks,[2] honoured for saints, and abundantly maintained out of the common stock.[3] They are no dissemblers, liars, hypocrites, for fools and madmen tell commonly truth. In a word, as they are distressed, so are they pitied, which some hold better than to be envied, better to be sad than merry, better to be foolish and quiet, *quam sapere et ringi*, [than] to be wise and still vexed; better to be miserable than happy: of two extremes it is the best.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Of Physic which cureth with Medicines*

AFTER a long and tedious discourse of these six non-natural things and their several rectifications, all which are comprehended in diet, I am come now at last to *Pharmaceutice*, or that kind of physic which cureth by medicines, which apothecaries most part make, mingle, or sell in their shops. Many cavil at this kind of physic, and hold it unnecessary, unprofitable to this or any other disease, because those countries which use it least live longest and are best in health, as Hector Boethius [4] relates of the isles of Orcades, the people are still sound of body and mind, without any use of physic, they live commonly 120 years; and Ortelius in his Itinerary of the inhabitants of the Forest of Arden, "they are very painful, long-lived, sound," etc.[5] Martianus Capella,[6] speaking of the Indians of his time, saith they were (much like our western Indians now) "bigger than ordinary men, bred coarsely, very long-lived, insomuch that he that died at an hundred years of age went before his time," etc. Damianus à Goes, Saxo Grammaticus, Aubanus Bohemus, say the like of them that live in Norway, Lapland, Finmark, Biarmia,[7] Carelia, all over Scandia, and those northern countries, they are most healthful and very long-lived, in which places there is no use at all of physic, the name of it is not once heard. Dithmarus Bleskenius, in his accurate description

of Iceland, 1607, makes mention amongst other matters of the inhabitants and their manner of living, "which is dried fish instead of bread, butter, cheese, and salt meats; most part they drink water and whey, and yet without physic or physician they live many of them 250 years." [1] I find the same relation by Lerius, and some other writers, of Indians in America. Paulus Jovius, in his description of Britain, and Levinus Lemnius, observe as much of this our island, that there was of old no use of physic amongst us,[2] and but little at this day, except it be for a few nice idle citizens, surfeiting courtiers, and stall-fed gentlemen lubbers. The country people use kitchen physic, and common experience tells us that they live freest from all manner of infirmities that make least use of apothecaries' physic. Many are overthrown by preposterous use of it, and thereby get their bane, that might otherwise have escaped; some think physicians kill as many as they save,[3] and who can tell *quot Themison ægros autumno occiderit uno* [4] [how many patients Themison has killed in one autumn]? how many murders they make in a year, *quibus impune licet hominem occidere*, that may freely kill folks, and have a reward for it? and, according to the Dutch proverb, a new physician must have a new churchyard; and who daily observes it not? Many that did ill under physicians' hands have happily escaped when they have been given over by them, left to God and nature and themselves; 'twas Pliny's dilemma of old, "Every disease is either curable or incurable, a man recovers of it or is killed by it; both ways physic is to be rejected. If it be deadly, it cannot be cured; if it may be helped, it requires no physician, nature will expel it of itself." [5] Plato made it a great sign of an intemperate and corrupt commonwealth, where lawyers and physicians did abound; and the Romans distasted them so much that they were often banished out of their city, as Pliny and Celsus relate, for 600 years not admitted. It is no art at all, as some hold, no, not worthy the name of a liberal science (nor law neither), as Pet. And. Canonherius,[6] a patrician of Rome and a great doctor himself, "one of their own tribe," proves by sixteen arguments, because it is mercenary as now used, base, and as fiddlers play for a reward. *Juridicis, medicis, fisco, fas vivere rapto* [lawyers, doctors, and the Treasury are licensed to live on robbery]; 'tis a corrupt trade, no science, art, no profession; the beginning, practice, and progress of it, all is naught, full of imposture, incertainty, and doth generally more harm than good. The devil himself was the first inventor

of it: *Inventum est medicina meum* [medicine is my invention], said Apollo; and what was Apollo, but the devil? The Greeks first made an art of it, and they were all deluded by Apollo's sons, priests, oracles. If we may believe Varro, Pliny, Columella, most of their best medicines were derived from his oracles. Æsculapius his son had his temples erected to his deity, and did many famous cures; but, as Lactantius holds, he was a magician, a mere impostor, and as his successors, Phaon, Podalirius, Melampus, Menecrates (another god), by charms, spells, and ministry of bad spirits, performed most of their cures. The first that ever wrote in physic to any purpose was Hippocrates, and his disciple and commentator Galen, whom Scaliger calls *fimbriam Hippocratis* [the fringe of Hippocrates]; but, as Cardan [1] censures them, both immethodical and obscure, as all those old ones are, their precepts confused, their medicines obsolete, and now most part rejected. Those cures which they did, Paracelsus holds, were rather done out of their patients' confidence, and good opinion they had of them,[2] than out of any skill of theirs, which was very small, he saith, they themselves idiots and infants, as are all their academical followers. The Arabians received it from the Greeks, and so the Latins, adding new precepts and medicines of their own, but so imperfect still, that through ignorance of professors, impostors, mountebanks, empirics, disagreeing of sectaries (which are as many almost as there be diseases), envy, covetousness, and the like, they do much harm amongst us. They are so different in their consultations, prescriptions, mistaking many times the party's constitution, disease, and causes of it, they give quite contrary physic.[3] "One saith this, another that,"[4] out of singularity or opposition, as he said of Hadrian, *multitudo medicorum principem interfecit*, a multitude of physicians hath killed the emperor; *plus a medico quam a morbo periculi*, more danger there is from the physician than from the disease. Besides, there is much imposture and malice amongst them. "All arts" (saith Cardan [5]) "admit of cozening, physic amongst the rest doth appropriate it to herself;" and tells a story of one Curtius, a physician in Venice; because he was a stranger, and practised amongst them, the rest of the physicians did still cross him in all his precepts. If he prescribed hot medicines they would prescribe cold, *miscentes pro calidis frigida, pro frigidis humida, pro purgantibus astringentia*, binders for purgatives, *omnia perturbabant* [they altered everything]. If the party miscarried, *Curtium damnabant*, Curtius killed him, that

disagreed from them; if he recovered, then they cured him themselves.[1] Much emulation, imposture, malice, there is amongst them: if they be honest and mean well, yet a knave apothecary that administers the physic and makes the medicine may do infinite harm by his old obsolete doses, adulterine drugs, bad mixtures, *quid pro quo*, etc. See Fuchsius, *lib.* 1, *sect.* 1, *cap.* 8, Cordus' Dispensatory, and Brassavola's *Examen simpl.*, etc. But it is their ignorance that doth more harm than rashness; their art is wholly conjectural, if it be an art, uncertain, imperfect, and got by killing of men, they are a kind of butchers, leeches, men-slayers; chirurgeons and apothecaries especially, that are indeed the physicians' hangmen, *carnifices*, and common executioners; though to say truth, physicians themselves come not far behind; for according to that facete epigram of Maximilianus Urentius, what 's the difference?

Chirurgicus medico quo differt? scilicet isto,
Enecat hic succis, enecat ille manu:
Carnifice hoc ambo tantum differre videntur,
Tardius hi faciunt, quod facit ille cito.

[Wherein differs the surgeon from the doctor? In this way, that the one kills with his drugs, the other with his knife. Both differ from the hangman only in doing slowly what he does quickly.]

But I return to their skill; many diseases they cannot cure at all, as apoplexy, epilepsy, stone, strangury, gout (*tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram* [the medical art cannot cure the gout]); quartan agues, a common ague sometimes stumbles them all; they cannot so much as ease, they know not how to judge of it. If by pulses, that doctrine, some hold, is wholly superstitious, and I dare boldly say with Andrew Dudith,[2] "that variety of pulses, described by Galen, is neither observed nor understood of any." And for urine, that is *meretrix medicorum*, the most deceitful thing of all, as Forestus and some other physicians have proved at large. I say nothing of critic days, errors in indications, etc. The most rational of them, and skilful, are so often deceived, that as Tholosanus infers,[3] "I had rather believe and commit myself to a mere empiric than to a mere doctor, and I cannot sufficiently commend that custom of the Babylonians, that have no professed physicians, but bring all their patients to the market to be cured": which Herodotus relates of the Egyptians, Strabo, Sardus, and Aubanus Bohemus of many other nations. And those that prescribed physic

amongst them, did not so arrogantly take upon them to cure all diseases as our professors do, but some one, some another, as their skill and experience did serve. "One cured the eyes, a second the teeth, a third the head, another the lower parts,"[1] etc., not for gain, but in charity, to do good; they made neither art, profession, nor trade of it, which in other places was accustomed: and therefore Cambyses in Xenophon[2] told Cyrus that, to his thinking, physicians "were like tailors and cobblers, the one mended our sick bodies as the other did our clothes." But I will urge these cavilling and contumelious arguments no farther, lest some physician should mistake me, and deny me physic when I am sick: for my part, I am well persuaded of physic: I can distinguish the abuse from the use, in this and many other arts and sciences; *Aliud vinum, aliud ebrietas*,[3] wine and drunkenness are two distinct things. I acknowledge it a most noble and divine science, insomuch that Apollo, Æsculapius, and the first founders of it *merito pro diis habiti*, were worthily counted gods by succeeding ages, for the excellency of their invention. And whereas Apollo at Delos, Venus at Cyprus, Diana at Ephesus, and those other gods, were confined and adored alone in some peculiar places, Æsculapius had his temple and altars everywhere, in Corinth, Lacedæmon, Athens, Thebes, Epidaurus, etc., as Pausanius records, for the latitude of his art, deity, worth, and necessity. With all virtuous and wise men therefore I honour the name and calling, as I am enjoined "to honour the physician for necessity's sake. The knowledge of the physician lifteth up his head, and in the sight of great men he shall be admired. The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them" (Ecclus. xxxviii, 1). But of this noble subject how many panegyrics are worthily written! For my part, as Sallust said of Carthage, *præstat silere quam pauca dicere* [it is better to say nothing than too little]; I have said, yet one thing I will add, that this kind of physic is very moderately and advisedly to be used, upon good occasion, when the former of diet will not take place. And 'tis no other which I say, than that which Arnoldus prescribes in his eighth Aphorism: "A discreet and godly physician doth first endeavour to expel a disease by medicinal diet, then by pure medicine";[4] and in his ninth, "He that may be cured by diet, must not meddle with physic."[5] So in [his] eleventh Aphorism: "A modest and wise physician will never hasten to use medicines, but upon urgent necessity, and that sparingly too":[6] because (as he adds in his thirteenth Aphorism) "Who-

soever takes much physic in his youth, shall soon bewail it in his old age": [1] purgative physic especially, which doth much debilitate nature. For which causes some physicians refrain from the use of purgatives, or else sparingly use them. Henricus Ayrerus,[2] in a consultation for a melancholy person, would have him take as few purges as he could, "because there be no such medicines which do not steal away some of our strength, and rob the parts of our body," weaken nature, and cause that cacochymia (which Celsus [3] and others observe) or ill digestion, and bad juice through all the parts of it. Galen himself confesseth [4] "that purgative physic is contrary to nature, takes away some of our best spirits, and consumes the very substance of our bodies." But this, without question, is to be understood of such purges as are unseasonably or immoderately taken; they have their excellent use in this, as well as most other infirmities. Of alteratives and cordials no man doubts, be they simples or compounds. I will, amongst that infinite variety of medicines which I find in every pharmacopœia, every physician, herbalist, etc. ,single out some of the chiefest.

Subsect. II.—*Simples proper to Melancholy, against Exotic Simples*

Medicines properly applied to melancholy, are either simple or compound. Simples are alterative or purgative. Alteratives are such as correct, strengthen nature, alter, anyway hinder or resist the disease; and they be herbs, stones, minerals, etc., all proper to this humour. For as there be divers distinct infirmities continually vexing us:

> Νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἠδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
> Αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι, κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
> Σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.[5]
>
> Diseases steal both day and night on men,
> For Jupiter hath taken voice from them:

so there be several remedies, as he [6] saith, "each disease a medicine, for every humour; and as some hold, every clime, every country, and more than that, every private place, hath his proper remedies growing in it, peculiar almost to the domineering and most frequent maladies of it. As one discourseth,[7] "Wormwood grows sparingly in Italy, because most part there they be misaffected with hot diseases; but henbane, poppy,

and such cold herbs: with us in Germany and Poland great store of it in every waste." Baracellus, *Horto geniali*, and Baptista Porta, *Physiognomicæ lib.* 6, *cap.* 23, give many instances and examples of it, and bring many other proofs. For that cause belike that learned Fuchsius of Nuremberg, "when he came into a village, considered always what herbs did grow most frequently about it, and those he distilled in a silver limbec," [1] making use of others amongst them as occasion served. I know that many are of opinion our northern simples are weak, unperfect, not so well concocted, of such force, as those in the southern parts, not so fit to be used in physic, and will therefore fetch their drugs afar off: senna, cassia out of Egypt, rhubarb from Barbary, aloes from Zocotora, turbith, agaric, myrobolanes, hermodactyls, from the East Indies, tobacco from the West, and some as far as China, hellebore from the Anticyræ, or that of Austria which bears the purple flower, which Matthiolus so much approves, and so of the rest. In the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, Maginus commends two mountains, Mariola and Renagolosa, famous for simples; [2] Leander Albertus, Baldus, [3] a mountain near the Lake Benacus in the territory of Verona, to which all the herbalists in the country continually flock; Ortelius one in Apulia, [4] Munster Mons Major in Istria: others Montpelier in France; [5] Prosper Alpinus prefers Egyptian simples, Garcias ab Horto Indian before the rest, another those of Italy, Crete, etc. Many times they are over-curious in this kind, whom Fuchsius taxeth, *Instit. lib.* 1, *sec.* 1, *cap.* 1, "that think they do nothing, except they rake all over India, Arabia, Ethiopia for remedies, and fetch their physic from the three quarters of the world, and from beyond the Garamantes. Many an old wife or country woman doth often more good with a few known and common garden herbs than our bombast physicians with all their prodigious, sumptuous, far-fetched, rare, conjectural medicines." [6] Without all question, if we have not these rare exotic simples, we hold that at home which is in virtue equivalent unto them; ours will serve as well as theirs, if they be taken in proportionable quantity, fitted and qualified aright, if not much better, and more proper to our constitutions. But so 'tis for the most part, as Pliny writes to Gallus, "We are careless of that which is near us, and follow that which is afar off, to know which we will travel and sail beyond the seas, wholly neglecting that which is under our eyes." [7] Opium in Turkey doth scarce offend, with us in a small quantity it stupefies: cicuta, or hemlock, is a strong poison in Greece, but with us it hath no such violent effects:

I conclude with J. Voschius, who, as he much inveighs against those exotic medicines, so he promiseth by our European a full cure and absolute of all diseases; *a capite ad calcem* [from head to heel], *nostræ regionis herbæ nostris corporibus magis conducunt*, our own simples agree best with us. It was a thing that Fernelius much laboured in his French practice, to reduce all his cure to our proper and domestic physic: so did Janus Cornarius,[1] and Martin Rulandus in Germany, T[imothy] B[right] with us, as appeareth by a treatise of his divulged in our tongue, 1615, to prove the sufficiency of English medicines to the cure of all manner of diseases. If our simples be not altogether of such force, or so apposite, it may be, if like industry were used, those far-fetched drugs would prosper as well with us as in those countries whence now we have them, as well as cherries, artichokes, tobacco, and many such. There have been divers worthy physicians which have tried excellent conclusions in this kind, and many diligent, painful apothecaries, as Gesner, Besler, Gerard, etc.; but amongst the rest those famous public gardens of Padua in Italy, Nuremberg in Germany, Leyden in Holland, Montpelier in France (and ours in Oxford now in *fieri* [course of construction], at the cost and charges of the Right Honourable the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby), are much to be commended, wherein all exotic plants almost are to be seen, and liberal allowance yearly made for their better maintenance, that young students may be the sooner informed in the knowledge of them: which as Fuchsius holds,[2] "is most necessary for that exquisite manner of curing," and as great a shame for a physician not to observe them as for a workman not to know his axe, saw, square, or any other tool which he must of necessity use.

Subsect. III.—*Alteratives, Herbs, other Vegetals, etc.*

Amongst those 800 simples, which Galeottus reckons up, *lib. 3 de promisc. doctor. cap. 3*, and many exquisite herbalists have written of, these few following alone I find appropriated to this humour: of which some be alteratives; "which by a secret force," [3] saith Renodeus, "and special quality expel future diseases, perfectly cure those which are, and many such incurable effects." This is as well observed in other plants, stones, minerals, and creatures as in herbs, in other maladies as in this. How many things are related of a man's skull! What several

virtues of corns in a horse's leg, of a wolf's liver,[1] etc.! Of divers excrements of beasts, all good against several diseases![2] What extraordinary virtues are ascribed unto plants! *Satyrium et eruca*[3] *penem erigunt, vitex et nymphæa semen extinguunt,* some herbs provoke lust, some again, as agnus castus, water-lily, quite extinguish seed;[4] poppy causeth sleep, cabbage resisteth drunkenness, etc., and that which is more to be admired, that such and such plants should have a peculiar virtue to such particular parts,[5] as to the head aniseeds, foalfoot, betony, calamint, eye-bright, lavender, bays, roses, rue, sage, marjoram, peony, etc.; for the lungs, calamint, liquorice, enula campana, hyssop, horehound, water germander, etc.; for the heart, borage, bugloss, saffron, balm, basil, rosemary, violet, roses, etc.; for the stomach, wormwood, mints, betony, balm, centaury, sorrel, purslane; for the liver, earth-pine or chamæpitys, germander, agrimony, fennel, endive, succory, liverwort, barberries; for the spleen, maiden hair, finger-fern, dodder of thyme, hop, the rind of ash, betony; for the kidneys, gromwell, parsley, saxifrage, plantain, mallow; for the womb, mugwort, pennyroyal, featherfew, savin, etc.; for the joints, camomile, St. John's wort, origan, rue, cowslips, centaury the less, etc.; and so to peculiar diseases. To this of melancholy you shall find a catalogue of herbs proper, and that in every part. See more in Wecker, Renodeus, Heurnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 19, etc. I will briefly speak of some of them, as first of alteratives, which Galen, in his third book of diseased parts, prefers before diminutives, and Trallianus brags that he hath done more cures on melancholy men by moistening than by purging of them.[6]

In this catalogue, borage and bugloss may challenge the chiefest place, whether in substance, juice, roots, seeds, flowers, leaves, decoctions, distilled waters, extracts, oils, etc., for such kind of herbs be diversely varied. Bugloss is hot and moist, and therefore worthily reckoned up amongst those herbs which expel melancholy and exhilarate the heart[7] (Galen, *lib.* 6, *cap.* 80, *de simpl. med.*, Dioscorides, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 123). Pliny much magnifies this plant. It may be diversely used; as in broth, in wine,[8] in conserves, syrups, etc. It is an excellent cordial, and against this malady most frequently prescribed; a herb indeed of such sovereignty, that, as Diodorus, *lib.* 7 *Bibl.*, Plinius, *lib.* 25, *cap.* 2, *et lib.* 21, *cap.* 22, Plutarch, *Sympos.* *lib.* 1, *cap.* 1, Dioscorides, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 40, Cælius, *lib.* 19, *cap.* 3, suppose, it was that famous nepenthes of Homer,[9] which Polydamna, Thon's wife (then King of Thebes in Egypt), sent

Helena for a token, of such rare virtue, that if taken steeped in wine, if wife and children, father and mother, brother and sister, and all thy dearest friends should die before thy face, thou couldst not grieve or shed a tear for them.

> *Qui semel id patera mistum Nepenthes Iaccho*
> *Hauserit, lacrimam, non si suavissima proles,*
> *Si germanus ei carus, materque paterque*
> *Oppetat, ante oculos ferro confossus atroci.*

Helena's commended bowl to exhilarate the heart had no other ingredient, as most of our critics conjecture, than this of borage.

Melissa, balm, hath an admirable virtue to alter melancholy, be it steeped in our ordinary drink, extracted, or otherwise taken. Cardan, *lib.* 8, much admires this herb. It heats and dries, saith Heurnius,[1] in the second degree, with a wonderful virtue comforts the heart, and purgeth all melancholy vapours from the spirits (Matthiol. *in lib.* 3, *cap.* 10, *in Dioscoridem*). Besides they ascribe other virtues to it, "as to help concoction, to cleanse the brain, expel all careful thoughts and anxious imaginations."[2] The same words in effect are in Avicenna, Pliny, Simon Sethi, Fuchsius, Lobel, Delacampius, and every herbalist. Nothing better for him that is melancholy than to steep this and borage in his ordinary drink.

Matthiolus, in his fifth book of Medicinal Epistles, reckons up scorzonera, "not against poison only, falling sickness, and such as are vertiginous, but to this malady; the root of it taken by itself expels sorrow, causeth mirth and lightness of heart."[3]

Antonius Musa, that renowned physician to Cæsar Augustus, in his book which he writ of the virtues of betony, *cap.* 6, wonderfully commends that herb, *animas hominum et corpora custodit, securas de metu reddit*, it preserves both body and mind from fears, cares, griefs, cures falling sickness, this and many other diseases; to whom Galen subscribes, *lib.* 7 *Simpl. med.*, Dioscorides, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 1, etc.

Marigold is much approved against melancholy, and often used therefore in our ordinary broth, as good against this and many other diseases.

Lupulus, hop, is a sovereign remedy; Fuchsius, *cap.* 58 *Plant. hist.*, much extols it; "it purgeth all choler, and purifies the blood."[4] Matthiolus, *cap.* 140, *in* 4 *Dioscor.* wonders the physicians of his time made no more use of it, because it rarefies and cleanseth: we use it to this purpose in our ordinary beer, which before was thick and fulsome.

Wormwood, centaury, pennyroyal, are likewise magnified and much prescribed (as I shall after show), especially in hypochondriac melancholy, daily to be used, sod in whey; and, as Ruffus Ephesius, Aretæus,[1] relate, by breaking wind, helping concoction, many melancholy men have been cured with the frequent use of them alone.

And because the spleen and blood are often misaffected in melancholy, I may not omit endive, succory, dandelion, fumitory, etc., which cleanse the blood; scolopendria, cuscuta, ceterach, mugwort, liverwort, ash, tamarisk, genist, maidenhair, etc., which much help and ease the spleen.

To these I may add roses, violets, capers, featherfew, scordium, stœchas, rosemary, *ros solis* [sundew], saffron, ocyme, sweet apples, wine, tobacco, sanders, etc., that Peruvian chamico, *monstrosa facultate* [of extraordinary powers], etc., Linschoten's datura; and to such as are cold, the decoction of guiacum,[2] China sarsaparilla, sassafras, the flowers of carduus benedictus, which I find much used by Montanus in his consultations, Julius Alexandrinus, Lælius Eugubinus, and others. Bernardus Penottus[3] prefers his *herba solis*, or Dutch sundew, before all the rest in this disease, "and will admit of no herb upon the earth to be comparable to it." It excells Homer's moly, cures this, falling sickness, and almost all other infirmities. The same Penottus speaks of an excellent balm out of Aponensis, which, taken to the quantity of three drops in a cup of wine, "will cause a sudden alteration, drive away dumps, and cheer up the heart."[4] Ant. Guianerius, in his Antidotary, hath many such.[5] Jacobus de Dondis the Aggregator repeats ambergrease, nutmegs, and allspice amongst the rest. But that cannot be general; amber and spice will make a hot brain mad, good for cold and moist. Garcias ab Horto hath many Indian plants, whose virtues he much magnifies in this disease. Lemnius, *Instit. cap.* 58, admires rue, and commends it to have excellent virtue, "to expel vain imaginations, devils, and to ease afflicted souls."[6] Other things are much magnified by writers,[7] as an old cock, a ram's head, a wolf's heart borne or eaten, which Mercurialis approves; Prosper Alpinus the water of Nilus; Gomesius all sea-water, and at seasonable times to be sea-sick: goat's milk, whey, etc.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Precious Stones, Metals, Minerals, Alteratives*

Precious stones are diversely censured; many explode the use of them or any minerals in physic, of whom Thomas Erastus is the chief, in his tract against Paracelsus, and in an epistle of his to Peter Monavius. "That stones can work any wonders, let them believe that list, no man shall persuade me; for my part, I have found by experience there is no virtue in them."[1] But Matthiolus, in his Comment upon Dioscorides,[2] is as profuse on the other side in their commendation; so is Cardan, Renodeus, Alardus, Rueus, Encelius, Marbodeus, etc. Matthiolus specifies in coral,[3] and Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chym.*, prefers the salt of coral. Christoph. Encelius,[4] *lib.* 3, *cap.* 131, will have them to be as so many several medicines against melancholy, sorrow, fear, dullness, and the like; Renodeus admires them,[5] "besides they adorn kings' crowns, grace the fingers, enrich our household stuff, defend us from enchantments, preserve health, cure diseases, they drive away grief, cares, and exhilarate the mind." The particulars be these.

Granatus [the garnet], a precious stone so called because it is like the kernels of a pomegranate, an unperfect kind of ruby, it comes from Calicut; "if hung about the neck or taken in drink, it much resisteth sorrow and recreates the heart."[6] The same properties I find ascribed to the jacinth and topaz; they allay anger, grief, diminish madness, much delight and exhilarate the mind.[7] "If it be either carried about or taken in a potion, it will increase wisdom," saith Cardan, "expel fear";[8] he brags that he hath cured many madmen with it, which, when they laid by the stone, were as mad again as ever they were at first. Petrus Bayerus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 13, *Veni mecum*, Fran. Rueus, *cap.* 19 *de gemmis*, say as much of the chrysolite, a friend of wisdom, an enemy to folly.[9] Pliny, *lib.* 37, Solinus, *cap.* 52, Albertus, *de lapid.*, Cardan, Encelius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 66, highly magnifies the virtue of the beryl; "it much avails to a good understanding, represseth vain conceits, evil thoughts, causeth mirth," etc.[10] In the belly of a swallow there is a stone found called chelidonius, "which if it be lapped in a fair cloth, and tied to the right arm, will cure lunatics, madmen, make them amiable and merry."[11]

There is a kind of onyx called a chalcedony, which hath the same qualities, "avails much against phantastic illusions which proceed from melancholy,"[12] preserves the vigour and good estate of the whole body.

The eban stone, which goldsmiths use to sleeken their gold with, borne about or given to drink, hath the same properties, or not much unlike.[1]

Levinus Lemnius, *Institut. ad vit. cap.* 58, amongst other jewels, makes mention of two more notable, carbuncle and coral, "which drive away childish fears, devils, overcome sorrow, and hung about the neck repress troublesome dreams," [2] which properties almost Cardan gives to that green-coloured emmetris [3] if it be carried about, or worn in a ring; Rueus to the diamond.

Nicholas Cabeus, a Jesuit of Ferrara, in the first book of his Magnetical Philosophy, *cap.* 3, speaking of the virtues of a load-stone, recites many several opinions; some say that if it be taken in parcels inward, *si quis per frusta voret, juventutem restituet*, it will, like viper's wine, restore one to his youth; and yet if carried about them, others will have it to cause melancholy; let experience determine.

Mercurialis admires the emerald for his virtues in pacifying all affections of the mind; others the sapphire, which is "the fairest of all precious stones, of sky-colour, and a great enemy to black choler, frees the mind, mends manners," [4] etc. Jacobus de Dondis, in his catalogue of simples, hath ambergrease, *os in corde cervi*, the bone in a stag's heart,[5] a monocerot's horn, bezoar's stone (of which elsewhere [6]), it is found in the belly of a little beast in the East Indies, brought into Europe by Hollanders and our countrymen merchants. Renodeus, *cap.* 22, *lib.* 3, *de ment. med.*, saith he saw two of these beasts alive, in the castle of the Lord of Vitry at Coubert.

Lapis lazuli and Armenus, because they purge, shall be mentioned in their place.

Of the rest in brief thus much I will add out of Cardan, Renodeus, *cap.* 23, *lib.* 3, Rondeletius, *lib.* 1 *de Testat. cap.* 15, etc., "that almost all jewels and precious stones have excellent virtues to pacify the affections of the mind, for which cause rich men so much covet to have them": [7] and "those smaller unions which are found in shells amongst the Persians and Indians," by the consent of all writers, "are very cordial," [8] and most part avail to the exhilaration of the heart.

Most men say as much of gold and some other minerals as these have done of precious stones. Erastus still maintains the opposite part. *Disput. in Paracelsum, cap.* 4, *fol.* 196, he confesseth of gold, "that it makes the heart merry, but in no other sense but as it is in a miser's chest": [9] *at mihi plaudo simul ac nummos contemplor in arca* [I am well pleased with myself as

soon as I see the money in my chest], as he said in the poet, it so revives the spirits, and is an excellent receipt against melancholy.

> For gold in physic is a cordial,
> Therefore he loved gold in special.[1]

Aurum potabile [potable gold] he discommends, and inveighs against it, by reason of the corrosive waters which are used in it:[2] which argument our Dr. Gwinne urgeth against Dr. Antonius. Erastus[3] concludes their philosophical stones and potable gold, etc., "to be no better than poison," a mere imposture, a *non ens*; digged out of that broody hill belike this golden stone is, *ubi nascetur ridiculus mus* [whence the absurd little mouse is to be born]. Paracelsus and his chemistical followers, as so many Promethei, will fetch fire from heaven, will cure all manner of diseases with minerals, accounting them the only physic on the other side. Paracelsus[4] calls Galen, Hippocrates, and all their adherents, infants, idiots, sophisters, etc.: *Apage sis istos qui Vulcanias istas metamorphoses sugillant, inscitiæ soboles, supinæ pertinaciæ alumnos, etc.* [away with those who cavil at these fiery transformations, rank ignoramuses, obstinate fools, etc.], not worthy the name of physicians, for want of these remedies; and brags that by them he can make a man live 160 years, or to the world's end; with their alexipharmacums, panaceas, mummias, *unguentum armarium*, and such magnetical cures, *Lampas vitæ et mortis, Balneum Dianæ, Balsamum, Electrum Magico-physicum, Amuleta Martialia*, etc.,[5] what will not he and his followers effect? He brags, moreover, that he was *primus medicorum* [the first of physicians], and did more famous cures than all the physicians in Europe besides, "a drop of his preparations should go farther than a dram or ounce of theirs,"[6] those loathsome and fulsome filthy potions, heteroclitical pills (so he calls them), horse medicines, *ad quorum aspectum Cyclops Polyphemus exhorresceret* [at the sight of which the Cyclops Polyphemus would shudder]. And though some condemn their skill and magnetical cures as tending to magical superstition, witchery, charms, etc., yet they admire, stiffly vindicate nevertheless, and infinitely prefer them. But these are both in extremes; the middle sort approve of minerals, though not in so high a degree. Lemnius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 6, *de occult. nat. mir.*, commends gold inwardly and outwardly used, as in rings, excellent good in medicines; and such mixtures as are made for melancholy men, saith Wecker, *Antid. spec. lib.* 1, to whom Renodeus subscribes, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 2; Ficinus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 19,

Fernelius, *Meth. med. lib.* 5, *cap.* 21, *de cardiacis*; Daniel Sennertus, *lib.* 1, *part.* 2, *cap.* 9; Audernacus, Libavius, Quercetanus, Oswaldus Crollius, Euonymus, Rubeus, and Matthiolus in the fourth book of his Epistles, Andreas à Blawen, *Epist. ad Matthiolum*, as commended and formerly used by Avicenna, Arnoldus, and many others. Matthiolus in the same place approves of potable gold, mercury, with many such chemical confections,[1] and goes so far in approbation of them that he holds "no man can be an excellent physician that hath not some skill in chemistical distillations, and that chronic diseases can hardly be cured without mineral medicines."[2] Look for antimony among purgers.

SUBSECT. V.—*Compound Alteratives; Censure of Compounds and Mixed Physic*

Pliny, *lib.* 24, *cap.* 1, bitterly taxeth all compound medicines, "Men's knavery, imposture, and captious wits have invented these shops, in which every man's life is set to sale: and by and by came in those compositions and inexplicable mixtures, farfetched out of India and Arabia; a medicine for a botch must be had as far as the Red Sea,"[3] etc. And 'tis not without cause which he saith, for out of question they are much to blame in their compositions.[4] "Whilst they make infinite variety of mixtures," as Fuchsius notes,[5] "they think they get themselves great credit, excel others, and to be more learned than the rest, because they make many variations"; but he accounts them fools, and "whilst they brag of their skill, and think to get themselves a name, they become ridiculous, betray their ignorance and error." A few simples, well prepared and understood, are better than such an heap of nonsense-confused compounds, which are in apothecaries' shops ordinarily sold; in which many vain, superfluous, corrupt, exolete things out of date are to be had" (saith Cornarius), "a company of barbarous names given to syrups, juleps, an unnecessary company of mixed medicines"; *rudis indigestaque moles* [a strange chaotic mass]. Many times (as Agrippa taxeth) there is by this means "more danger from the medicine than from the disease";[6] when they put together they know not what, or leave it to an illiterate apothecary to be made, they cause death and horror for health. Those old physicians had no such mixtures; a simple potion of hellebore in Hippocrates' time was the ordinary

purge; and at this day, saith Mat. Riccius,[1] in that flourishing commonwealth of China, "their physicians give precepts quite opposite to ours, not unhappy in their physic; they use altogether roots, herbs, and simples in their medicines, and all their physic in a manner is comprehended in an herbal: no science, no school, no art, no degree, but, like a trade, every man in private is instructed of his master." Cardan[2] cracks that he can cure all diseases with water alone, as Hippocrates of old did most infirmities with one medicine. Let the best of our rational physicians demonstrate and give a sufficient reason for those intricate mixtures, why just so many simples in mithridate or treacle, why such and such quantity; may they not be reduced to half or a quarter? *Frustra fit per plura* (as the saying is) *quod fieri potest per pauciora* [it is idle to use much where little will do]; 300 simples in a julep, potion, or a little pill, to what end or purpose? I know what Alkindus,[3] Capivaccius, Montagna, and Simon è Tover, the best of them all and most rational, have said in this kind; but neither he, they, nor any one of them gives his reader, to my judgment, that satisfaction which he ought; why such, so many simples? Roger Bacon hath taxed many errors in his tract *de graduationibus*, explained some things, but not cleared. Mercurialis, in his book *de composit. medicin.*, gives instance in *hamech*, and *philonium Romanum*, which Hamech, an Arabian, and Philonius, a Roman, long since composed, but *crasse* [coarsely] as the rest. If they be so exact, as by him it seems they were, and those mixtures so perfect, why doth Fernelius alter the one, and why is the other obsolete? Cardan[4] taxeth Galen for presuming out of his ambition to correct *theriacum Andromachi*, and we as justly may carp at all the rest. Galen's medicines are now exploded and rejected; what Nicholas Meripsa, Mesue, Celsus, Scribanius, Actuarius, etc., writ of old are most part contemned. Mellichius, Cordus, Wecker, Quercetan, Renodeus, the Venetian, Florentine states, have their several receipts and magistrals; they of Nuremberg have theirs, and *Augustana Pharmacopœia*, peculiar medicines to the meridian of the city; London hers; every city, town, almost every private man hath his own mixtures, compositions, receipts, magistrals, precepts, as if he scorned antiquity, and all others, in respect of himself. But each man must correct and alter to show his skill, every opinative fellow must maintain his own paradox, be it what it will; *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi:* they dote, and in the meantime the poor patients pay for their new experiments, the commonalty rue it.

Thus others object, thus I may conceive out of the weakness of my apprehension; but to say truth, there is no such fault, no such ambition, no novelty or ostentation, as some suppose; but as one answers,[1] this of compound medicines "is a most noble and profitable invention, found out and brought into physic with great judgment, wisdom, counsel, and discretion." Mixed diseases must have mixed remedies, and such simples are commonly mixed as have reference to the part affected, some to qualify, the rest to comfort, some one part, some another. Cardan and Brassavola both hold that *nullum simplex medicamentum sine noxa*, no simple medicine is without hurt or offence; and although Hippocrates, Erasistratus, Diocles, of old, in the infancy of this art, were content with ordinary simples, yet now, saith Aetius,[2] "necessity compelleth to seek for new remedies, and to make compounds of simples, as well to correct their harms if cold, dry, hot, thick, thin, insipid, noisome to smell, to make them savoury to the palate, pleasant to taste and take, and to preserve them for continuance, by admixtion of sugar, honey, to make them last months and years for several uses." In such cases, compound medicines may be approved, and Arnoldus in his eighteenth Aphorism doth allow of it: "If simples cannot, necessity compels us to use compounds";[3] so for receipts and magistrals, *dies diem docet*, one day teacheth another, and they are as so many words or phrases, *Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus* [which are now in fashion], ebb and flow with the season, and as wits vary, so they may be infinitely varied. *Quisque suum placitum quo capiatur habet:* every man as he likes; so many men so many minds; and yet all tending to good purpose, though not the same way. As arts and sciences, so physic is still perfected amongst the rest. *Horæ Musarum nutrices* [the Hours are the nurses of the Muses], and experience teacheth us every day many things which our predecessors knew not of.[4] Nature is not effete, as he saith, or so lavish to bestow all her gifts upon an age, but hath reserved some for posterity, to show her power, that she is still the same, and not old or consumed. Birds and beasts can cure themselves by nature, *naturæ usu ea plerumque cognoscunt, quæ homines vix longo labore et doctrina assequuntur*,[5] but men must use much labour and industry to find it out. But I digress.

Compound medicines are inwardly taken, or outwardly applied. Inwardly taken, be either liquid or solid; liquid, are fluid or consisting. Fluid, as wines and syrups. The wines ordinarily used to this disease are wormwood wine, tamarisk,

and *buglossatum*, wine made of borage and bugloss; the composition of which is specified in Arnoldus Villanovanus, *lib. de vinis*, of borage, balm, bugloss, cinnamon, etc., and highly commended for his virtues: "it drives away leprosy, scabs, clears the blood, recreates the spirits, exhilarates the mind, purgeth the brain of those anxious black melancholy fumes, and cleanseth the whole body of that black humour by urine. To which I add," saith Villanovanus, "that it will bring madmen, and such raging bedlams as are tied in chains, to the use of their reason again. My conscience bears me witness that I do not lie, I saw a grave matron helped by this means; she was so choleric, and so furious sometimes, that she was almost mad and beside herself; she said and did she knew not what, scolded, beat her maids, and was now ready to be bound, till she drank of this borage wine, and by this excellent remedy was cured, which a poor foreigner, a silly beggar, taught her by chance, that came to crave an alms from door to door." [1] The juice of borage, if it be clarified and drunk in wine, will do as much, the roots sliced and steeped, etc., saith Ant. Mizaldus, *Art. med.*, who cites this story verbatim out of Villanovanus, and so doth Magninus, a physician of Milan, in his Regiment of Health. Such another excellent compound water I find in Rubeus, *de distill. sect.* 3, which he highly magnifies out of Savonarola, "for such as are solitary, dull, heavy or sad without a cause, or be troubled with trembling of heart." [2] Other excellent compound waters for melancholy he cites in the same place, "if their melancholy be not inflamed, or their temperature over-hot." [3] Euonymus hath a precious *aquavitæ* to this purpose, for such as are cold. But he and most commend *aurum potabile* [potable gold], and every writer prescribes clarified whey, with borage, bugloss, endive, succory, etc., of goat's milk especially, some indefinitely at all times, some thirty days together in the spring, every morning fasting, a good draught. Syrups are very good, and often used to digest this humour in the heart, spleen, liver, etc. As syrup of borage (there is a famous syrup of borage highly commended by Laurentius to this purpose in his tract of melancholy), *de pomis* [of apples] of King Sabor, now obsolete, of thyme and epithyme, hops, scolopendria, fumitory, maidenhair, byzantine, etc. These are most used for preparatives to other physic, mixed with distilled waters of like nature, or in juleps otherwise.

Consisting, are conserves or confections: conserves of borage, bugloss, balm, fumitory, succory, maidenhair, violets, roses,

wormwood, etc.; confections, treacle, mithridate, eclegms or linctures, etc.; solid, as aromatical confections; hot, *diambra, diamargaritum calidum, dianthus, diamoschum dulce, electuarium de gemmis, lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, diagalinga, diacyminum, dianisum, diatrion piperion, diazinziber, diacapers, diacinnamomum*; cold, as *diamargaritum frigidum, diacoralli, diarrhodon abbatis, diacodion*, etc., as every pharmacopœia will show you, with their tables or losings[1] that are made out of them; with condites and the like.

Outwardly used as occasion serves, as amulets, oils hot and cold, as of camomile, stœchados, violets, roses, almonds, poppy, nymphæa, mandrake, etc., to be used after bathing, or to procure sleep.

Ointments composed of the said species, oils and wax, etc., as *alabastritum, populeum*, some hot, some cold, to moisten, procure sleep, and correct other accidents.

Liniments are made of the same matter to the like purpose: emplasters of herbs, flowers, roots, etc., with oils and other liquors mixed and boiled together.

Cataplasms, salves, or poultices, made of green herbs, pounded, or sod in water till they be soft, which are applied to the hypochondries, and other parts, when the body is empty.

Cerotes are applied to several parts, and frontals, to take away pain, grief, heat, procure sleep. Fomentations or sponges, wet in some decoctions, etc., epithemata, or those moist medicines, laid on linen, to bathe and cool several parts misaffected.

Sacculi, or little bags of herbs, flowers, seeds, roots, and the like, applied to the head, heart, stomach, etc.; odoraments, balls, perfumes, posies to smell to, all which have their several uses in melancholy, as shall be showed when I treat of the cure of the distinct species by themselves.

MEMB. II.

SUBSECT. I.—*Purging Simples upward*

MELANAGOGA, or melancholy-purging medicines, are either simple or compound, and that gently, or violently, purging upward or downward. These following purge upward. Asarum, or asarabacca, which, as Mesue saith, is hot in the second degree and dry in the third; "it is commonly taken in wine, whey,"[2]

or, as with us, the juice of two or three leaves, or more sometimes, pounded in posset drink qualified with a little liquorice or aniseed, to avoid the fulsomeness of the taste, or as *diasarum Fernelii*. Brassavola, *in Cathart.*, reckons it up amongst those simples that only purge melancholy, and Ruellius confirms as much out of his experience, that it purgeth black choler, like hellebore itself.[1] Galen, *lib.* 6 *Simplic.*, and Matthiolus ascribe other virtues to it, and will have it purge other humours as well as this.[2]

Laurel, by Heurnius, *Method. ad prax. liv.* 2, *cap.* 24, is put amongst the strong purgers of melancholy; it is hot and dry in the fourth degree. Dioscorides, *lib.* 11, *cap.* 114, adds other effects to it.[3] Pliny sets down fifteen berries in drink for a sufficient potion: it is commonly corrected with his opposites, cold and moist, as juice of endive, purslane, and is taken in a potion to seven grains and a half. But this, and asarabacca, every gentlewoman in the country knows how to give; they are two common vomits.

Scilla, or sea-onion, is hot and dry in the third degree. Brassavola, *in Cathart.*, out of Mesue, others, and his own experience, will have this simple to purge melancholy alone.[4] It is an ordinary vomit, *vinum scilliticum*, mixed with rubel in a little white wine.

White hellebore, which some call sneezing-powder, a strong purger upward, which many reject, as being too violent: Mesue and Averroes will not admit of it, "by reason of danger of suffocation,"[5] "great pain and trouble it puts the poor patient to," saith Dodonæus.[6] Yet Galen, *lib.* 6 *Simpl. med.* and Dioscorides, *cap.* 145, allow of it. It was indeed "terrible in former times,"[7] as Pliny notes, but now familiar, insomuch that many took it in those days, "that were students, to quicken their wits,"[8] which Persius, *Sat.* 1, objects to Accius the poet, *Ilias Acci ebria veratro* [the Iliad of Accius is drunk with hellebore]. "It helps melancholy, the falling sickness, madness, gout, etc., but not to be taken of old men, youths, such as are weaklings, nice, or effeminate, troubled with headache, high-coloured, or fear strangling,"[9] saith Dioscorides. Oribasius, an old physician, hath written very copiously, and approves of it, "in such affections which can otherwise hardly be cured."[10] Heurnius, *lib.* 2 *Prax. med. de vomitoriis*, will not have it used "but with great caution, by reason of its strength, and then when antimony will do no good,"[11] which caused Hermophilus to compare it to a stout captain (as Codronchus observes,

cap. 7, *Comment. de helleb.*) that will see all his soldiers go before him and come *post principia* [after the first ranks], like the bragging soldier, last himself; when other helps fail in inveterate melancholy, in a desperate case, this vomit is to be taken.[1] And yet for all this, if it be well prepared, it may be securely given at first.[2] Matthiolus[3] brags that he hath often, to the good of many, made use of it, and Heurnius, "that he hath happily used it, prepared after his own prescript,"[4] and with good success. Christophorus à Vega, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 41, is of the same opinion, that it may be lawfully given; and our country gentlewomen find it by their common practice that there is no such great danger in it. Dr. Turner, speaking of this plant in his Herbal, telleth us that in his time it was an ordinary receipt among goodwives, to give hellebore in powder, to ii[d] weight, and he is not much against it. But they do commonly exceed, for who so bold as blind Bayard? and prescribe it by penny-worths, and such irrational ways, as I have heard myself market folks ask for it in an apothecary's shop: but with what success God knows; they smart often for their rash boldness and folly, break a vein, make their eyes ready to start out of their heads, or kill themselves. So that the fault is not in the physic, but in the rude and undiscreet handling of it. He that will know, therefore, when to use, how to prepare it aright, and in what dose, let him read Heurnius, *lib.* 2 *Prax. med.*, Brassavola *de Cathart.*, Godefridus Stegius, the Emperor Rudolphus' physician, *cap.* 16, Matthiolus *in Dioscor.*, and that excellent commentary of Baptista Codronchus, which is *instar omnium* [worth all the rest], *de helleb. alb.*, where he shall find great diversity of examples and receipts.

Antimony, or stibium, which our chemists so much magnify, is either taken in substance or infusion, etc., and frequently prescribed in this disease. "It helps all infirmities," saith Matthiolus,[5] "which proceed from black choler, falling sickness, and hypochondriacal passions"; and for farther proof of his assertion, he gives several instances of such as have been freed with it: one of Andrew Gallus, a physician of Trent, that after many other essays, "imputes the recovery of his health, next after God, to this remedy alone";[6] another of George Hantshius, that in like sort, when other medicines failed, "was by this restored to his former health, and which of his knowledge others have likewise tried, and by the help of this admirable medicine, been recovered";[7] a third of a parish priest at Prague in Bohemia, "that was so far gone with melancholy, that he

doted, and spake he knew not what; but after he had taken twelve grains of stibium (as I myself saw, and can witness, for I was called to see this miraculous accident), he was purged of a deal of black choler, like little gobbets of flesh, and all his excrements were as black blood" [1] (a medicine fitter for a horse than a man), "yet it did him so much good, that the next day he was perfectly cured." This very story of the Bohemian priest Sckenkius relates verbatim, *Exoter. experiment. ad. var. morb. cent.* 6, *observ.* 6, with great approbation of it. Hercules de Saxonia calls it a profitable medicine, if it be taken after meat to six or eight grains, of such as are apt to vomit. Rodericus à Fonseca, the Spaniard, and late professor of Padua in Italy, extols it to this disease, *tom.* 2, *consul.* 85; so doth Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, with many others. Jacobus Gervinus, a French physician, on the other side, *lib.* 2 *de venenis confut.*, explodes all this, and saith he took three grains only upon Matthiolus' and some others' commendation, but it almost killed him, whereupon he concludes, "Antimony is rather poison than a medicine." [2] Th. Erastus concurs with him in his opinon, and so doth Ælian Montaltus, *cap.* 30 *de melan.* But what do I talk? 'tis the subject of whole books; I might cite a century of authors pro and con. I will conclude with Zuinger,[3] antimony is like Scanderbeg's sword, which is either good or bad, strong or weak, as the party is that prescribes or useth it; "a worthy medicine if it be rightly applied to a strong man, otherwise poison." For the preparing of it, look in *Euonymi Thesaurus*, Quercetan, Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chym.*, Basil. Valentinus, etc.

Tobacco, divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all the panaceas, potable gold, and philosophers' stones, a sovereign remedy to all diseases. A good vomit, I confess, a virtuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but as it is commonly abused by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health; hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul.

Subsect. II.—*Simples purging Melancholy downward*

Polypody and epithyme are, without all exceptions, gentle purgers of melancholy Dioscorides will have them void

phlegm; but Brassavola, out of his experience, averreth that they purge this humour; they are used in decoction, infusion, etc., simple, mixed, etc.

Myrobalanes, all five kinds, are happily prescribed against melancholy and quartan agues;[1] Brassavola speaks out of "a thousand experiences,"[2] he gave them in pills, decoctions, etc.; look for peculiar receipts in him.

Stœchas, fumitory, dodder, herb mercury, roots of capers, genista or broom, pennyroyal, and half-boiled cabbage, I find in this catalogue of purgers of black choler, origan, featherfew, ammoniac salt, saltpetre;[3] but these are very gentle; alypus, dragon root, centaury, dittany, colutea, which Fuchsius, *cap.* 168, and others take for senna, but most distinguish. Senna is in the middle of violent and gentle purgers downward, hot in the second degree, dry in the first. Brassavola calls it "a wonderful herb against melancholy, it scours the blood, illightens the spirits, shakes off sorrow";[4] "a most profitable medicine," as Dodonæus terms it,[5] invented by the Arabians, and not heard of before. It is taken divers ways, in powder, infusion, but most commonly in the infusion, with ginger or some cordial flowers added to correct it. Actuarius commends it sod in broth, with an old cock, or in whey, which is the common conveyer of all such things as purge black choler; or steeped in wine, which Heurnius accounts sufficient, without any farther correction.

Aloes by most is said to purge choler, but Aurelianus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 6, *de morb. chron.*, Arculanus, *cap.* 6 *in* 9 *Rhasis*, Julius Alexandrinus, *consil.* 185 *Scoltz.*, Crato, *consil.* 189 *Scoltz.*, prescribe it to this disease; as good for the stomach and to open the hemrods, out of Mesue, Rhasis, Serapio, Avicenna: Menardus, *Ep. lib.* 1, *epist.* 1, opposeth it; aloes "doth not open the veins,"[6] or move the hemrods, which Leonhartus Fuchsius, *Paradox. lib.* 1, likewise affirms; but Brassavola and Dodonæus defend Mesue out of their experience; let Valesius[7] end the controversy.

Lapis Armenus and lazuli are much magnified by Alexander, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 16,[8] Avicenna, Aetius, and Actuarius, if they be well washed, that the water be no more coloured, fifty times some say. "That good Alexander" (saith Guianerus) "puts such confidence in this one medicine, that he thought all melancholy passions might be cured by it; and I for my part have oftentimes happily used it, and was never deceived in the operation of it."[9] The like may be said of lapis lazuli, though it be somewhat weaker than the other. Garcias ab Horto,

Hist. lib. 1, *cap.* 65, relates that the physicians of the Moors familiarly prescribe it to all melancholy passions,[1] and Matthiolus, *Ep. lib.* 3, brags of that happy success which he still had in the administration of it.[2] Nicholas Meripsa puts it amongst the best remedies, *sect.* 1, *cap.* 12, *in Antidotis*; "and if this will not serve" (saith Rhasis) "then there remains nothing but lapis Armenus and hellebore itself."[3] Valescus and Jason Pratensis much commend *pulvis hali*, which is made of it. Janus Damascen, 2, *cap.* 12, Hercules de Saxonia, etc., speak well of it. Crato will not approve this; it and both hellebores, he saith, are no better than poison. Victor Trincavellius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 14, found it in his experience "to be very noisome, to trouble the stomach, and hurt their bodies that take it overmuch."[4]

Black hellebore, that most renowned plant, and famous purger of melancholy, which all antiquity so much used and admired, was first found out by Melanpodius[5] a shepherd, as Pliny records, *lib.* 25, *cap.* 5, who, seeing it to purge his goats when they raved,[6] practised it upon Elige and Calene, King Prœtus' daughters, that ruled in Arcadia, near the fountain Clitorius, and restored them to their former health. In Hippocrates' time it was in only request, insomuch that he writ a book of it, a fragment of which remains yet. Theophrastus, Galen,[7] Pliny; Cælius Aurelianus, as ancient as Galen, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 6; Aretæus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 5; Oribasius, *lib.* 7 *collect.*, a famous Greek; Aetius, *ser.* 3, *cap.* 112 *et* 113; P. Ægineta, Galen's ape, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 4; Actuarius; Trallianus, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 15; Cornelius Celsus, only remaining of the old Latins, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 23, extol and admire this excellent plant; and it was generally so much esteemed of the ancients for this disease amongst the rest, that they sent all such as were crazed, or that doted, to the Anticyræ, or to Phocis in Achaia, to be purged, where this plant was in abundance to be had. In Strabo's time it was an ordinary voyage; *Naviget Anticyras* [let him sail to Anticyra]: a common proverb among the Greeks and Latins, to bid a dizzard or a madman go take hellebore; as in Lucian, Menippus to Tantalus, *Tantale, desipis, helleboro epoto tibi opus est, eoque sane meraco*, Thou art out of thy little wit, O Tantulus, and must needs drink hellebore, and that without mixture. Aristophanes, *in Vespis*, "Drink hellebore," etc., and Harpax, in the comedian,[8] told Simo and Ballio, two doting fellows, that they had need to be purged with this plant. When that proud Menacrates ὁ Ζεὺς [surnamed Zeus], had writ an arrogant letter to Philip of Macedon, he sent back

no other answer but this, *Consulo tibi ut ad Anticyram te conferas* [I advise you to pay a visit to Anticyra], noting thereby that he was crazed, *atque helleboro indigere*, [and] had much need of a good purge. Lilius Giraldus saith that Hercules, after all his mad pranks upon his wife and children, was perfectly cured by a purge of hellebore, which an Anticyrian administered unto him. They that were sound commonly took it to quicken their wits (as Ennius of old, *Qui non nisi potus ad arma prosiluit dicenda* [1] [who never essayed to write of warlike deeds save in his cups], and as our poets drink sack to improve their inventions); I find it so registered by A. Gellius, *lib.* 17, *cap.* 15. Carneades the Academic, when he was to write against Zeno the Stoic, purged himself with hellebore first, which Petronius [2] puts upon Chrysippus. In such esteem it continued for many ages, till at length Mesue and some other Arabians began to reject and reprehend it, upon whose authority for many following lustres it was much debased and quite out of request, held to be poison and no medicine; and is still oppugned to this day by Crato [3] and some junior physicians. Their reasons are, because Aristotle, *lib.* 1 *de plant. cap.* 3, said henbane and hellebore were poison; and Alexander Aphrodisiæus, in the preface of his Problems, gave out, that (speaking of hellebore) "quails fed on that which was poison to men." [4] Galen, *lib.* 6 *Epid. com.* 5, *text.* 35, confirms as much; Constantine the emperor, in his Geoponics,[5] attributes no other virtue to it than to kill mice and rats, flies and mouldwarps; and so Mizaldus, Nicander of old, Gervinus, Sckenkius, and some other neoterics that have written of poisons, speak of hellebore in a chief place. Nicholas Leonicus [6] hath a story of Solon, that, besieging I know not what city, steeped hellebore in a spring of water, which by pipes was conveyed into the middle of the town, and so either poisoned, or else made them so feeble and weak by purging, that they were not able to bear arms. Notwithstanding all these cavils and objections, most of our late writers do much approve of it: Gariopontus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 13,[7] Codronchus, *Com. de helleb.*, Fallopius, *lib. de med. purg. simpl. cap.* 69, *et consil.* 15 *Trincavellii*, Montanus, 239, Frisimelica, *consil.* 14, Hercules de Saxonia, so that it be opportunely given. Jacobus de Dondis, Agg.; Amatus Lusit. *cent.* 66; Godef. Stegius, *cap.* 13; Hollerius, and all our herbalists subscribe. Fernelius, *Meth. med. lib.* 5, *cap.* 16, confesseth it to be "a terrible purge and hard to take, yet well given to strong men, and such as have able bodies." [8] P. Forestus and Capivaccius

forbid it to be taken in substance, but allow it in decoction or infusion, both which ways P. Monavius approves above all others, *Epist.* 231 *Scoltzii*; Jacchinus, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, commends a receipt of his own preparing; Penottus another of his chemically prepared, Euonymus another. Hildesheim, *Spicil. 2 de mel.*, hath many examples how it should be used, with diversity of receipts. Heurnius, *lib.* 7 *Prax. med. cap.* 14, calls it "an innocent medicine howsoever, if it be well prepared."[1] The root of it is only in use, which may be kept many years, and by some given in substance, as by Fallopius and Brassavola amongst the rest, who brags that he was the first that restored it again to its use,[2] and tells a story how he cured one Malatesta, a madman, that was thought to be possessed, in the Duke of Ferrara's court, with one purge of black hellebore in substance: the receipt is there to be seen; his excrements were like ink, he perfectly healed at once;[3] Vidus Vidius, a Dutch physician, will not admit of it in substance, to whom most subscribe, but as before in the decoction, infusion, or, which is all in all, in the extract, which he prefers before the rest, and calls *suave medicamentum*, a sweet medicine, an easy, that may be securely given to women, children, and weaklings. Baracellus, *Horto Geniali*, terms it *maximæ præstantiæ medicamentum*, a medicine of great worth and note. Quercetan, in his *Spagir. Phar.*, and many others, tell wonders of the extract. Paracelsus above all the rest is the greatest admirer of this plant; and especially the extract; he calls it *theriacum, terrestre balsamum*, another treacle, a terrestrial balm, *instar omnium*, "all in all, the sole and last refuge to cure this malady, the gout, epilepsy, leprosy, etc."[4] If this will not help, no physic in the world can but mineral, it is the upshot of all. Matthiolus laughs at those that except against it, and though some abhor it out of the authority of Mesue, and dare not adventure to prescribe it, "yet I" (saith he) "have happily used it six hundred times without offence, and communicated it to divers worthy physicians, who have given me great thanks for it."[5] Look for receipts, dose, preparation, and other cautions concerning this simple, in him, Brassavola, Baracellus, Codronchus, and the rest.

Subsect. III.—*Compound Purgers*

Compound medicines which purge melancholy are either taken in the superior or inferior parts: superior at mouth or nostrils. At the mouth, swallowed or not swallowed: if swallowed, liquid

or solid: liquid, as compound wine of hellebore, scilla or sea-onion, senna, *vinum scilliticum, helleboratum,* which Quercetan so much applauds[1] "for melancholy and madness, either inwardly taken, or outwardly applied to the head, with little pieces of linen dipped warm in it." *Oxymel scilliticum, syrupus helleboratus major* and *minor* in Quercetan, and *syrupus genistæ* for hypochondriacal melancholy in the same author, compound syrup of succory, of fumitory, polypody, etc., Heurnius his purging cock-broth. Some except against these syrups, as appears by Udalrinus Leonorus his Epistle to Matthiolus,[2] as most pernicious, and that out of Hippocrates, *cocta movere, et medicari, non cruda,* no raw things to be used in physic; but this in the following epistle is exploded and soundly confuted by Matthiolus: many juleps, potions, receipts, are composed of these, as you shall find in Hildesheim, *Spicil.* 2, Heurnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 14, George Sckenkius, *Ital. med. prax.*, etc.

Solid purges are confections, electuaries, pills by themselves, or compound with others, as *de lapide lazuli, Armeno, pil. Indæ,* of fumitory, etc.; confection of hamech, which, though most approve, Solenander, *sec.* 5, *consil.* 22, bitterly inveighs against, so doth Rondeletius, *Pharmacop. officina,* Fernelius, and others; diasenna, diapolypodium, diacassia, diacatholicon, Wecker's electuary *de epithymo,* Ptolemy's hierologadium, of which divers receipts are daily made.

Aetius, 22, 23, commends *hieram Ruffi.* Trincavellius, *consil.* 12, *lib.* 4, approves of hiera; *Non, inquit, invenio melius medicamentum,* I find no better medicine, he saith. Heurnius adds *pil. aggregat.*, pills *de epithymo, pil. Ind.* Mesue describes in the Florentine Antidotary, *pilulæ sine quibus esse nolo, pilulæ cochiæ cum helleboro, pil. Arabicæ, fætidæ, de quinque generibus myrobalanorum,* etc., more proper to melancholy, not excluding in the meantime turbith, manna, rhubarb, agaric, elescophe, etc. which are not so proper to this humour. For, as Montaltus holds, *cap.* 30, and Montanus, *cholera etiam purganda, quod atræ sit pabulum,* choler is to be purged because it feeds the other: and some are of an opinion, as Erasistratus and Asclepiades maintained of old, against whom Galen disputes, "that no physic doth purge one humour alone, but all alike or what is next."[3] Most therefore in their receipts and magistrals which are coined here, make a mixture of several simples and compounds to purge all humours in general as well as this. Some rather use potions than pills to purge this humour, because that, as Heurnius and Crato observe, *hic succus a sicco remedio ægre trahitur,* this

juice is not so easily drawn by dry remedies, and, as Montanus adviseth, *cons.* 25, "All drying medicines are to be repelled, as aloe, hiera, and all pills whatsoever," [1] because the disease is dry of itself.

I might here insert many receipts of prescribed potions, boles, etc., the doses of these, but that they are common in every good physician, and that I am loath to incur the censure of Forestus, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 6, *de urinis*, "against those that divulge and publish medicines in their mother-tongue," [2] and lest I should give occasion thereby to some ignorant reader to practise on himself, without the consent of a good physician.

Such as are not swallowed, but only kept in the mouth, are gargarisms, used commonly after a purge, when the body is soluble and loose. Or apophlegmatisms, masticatories, to be held and chewed in the mouth, which are gentle, as hyssop, origan, pennyroyal, thyme, mustard; strong, as pellitory, pepper, ginger, etc.

Such as are taken into the nostrils, *errhina*, are liquid or dry, juice of pimpernel, onions, etc., castor, pepper, white hellebore, etc. To these you may add odoraments, perfumes, and suffumigations, etc.

Taken into the inferior parts are clysters strong or weak, suppositories of Castilian soap, honey boiled to a consistence; or stronger of scammony, hellebore, etc.

These are all used, and prescribed to this malady upon several occasions, as shall be showed in its place.

MEMB. III.

Chirurgical Remedies

IN letting of blood three main circumstances are to be considered, "Who, how much, when?" [3] That is, that it be done to such a one as may endure it, or to whom it may belong, that he be of a competent age, not too young, nor too old, overweak, fat, or lean, sore laboured, but to such as have need, are full of bad blood, noxious humours, and may be eased by it.

The quantity depends upon the party's habit of body, as he is strong or weak, full or empty, may spare more or less.

In the morning is the fittest time: some doubt whether it be best fasting or full, whether the moon's motion or aspect of planets be to be observed; some affirm, some deny, some grant

in acute, but not in chronic diseases, whether before or after physic. 'Tis Heurnius' aphorism, *a phlebotomia auspicandam esse curationem, non a pharmacia*, you must begin with blood-letting and not physic; some except this peculiar malady. But what do I? Horatius Augenius, a physician of Padua, hath lately writ seventeen books of this subject, Jobertus, etc.

Particular kinds of blood-letting in use are three;[1] first is that opening a vein in the arm with a sharp knife, or in the head, knees, or any other parts, as shall be thought fit.

Cupping-glasses, with or without scarification, *ocissime compescunt*, saith Fernelius, they work presently, and are applied to several parts, to divert humours, aches, winds, etc.

Horse-leeches are much used in melancholy, applied especially to the hemrods. Horatius Augenius, *lib.* 10, *cap.* 10, Platerus, *de mentis alienat. cap.* 3, Altomarus, Piso, and many others, prefer them before any evacuations in this kind.

Cauteries[2] or searing with hot irons, combustions, borings, lancings, which, because they are terrible, *dropax* and *sinapismus* are invented, by plasters to raise blisters, and eating medicines of pitch, mustard-seed, and the like.

Issues still to be kept open, made as the former, and applied in and to several parts, have their use here on divers occasions, as shall be showed.

SECT. V. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Particular Cure of the three several Kinds; of Head-Melancholy*

THE general cures thus briefly examined and discussed, it remains now to apply these medicines to the three particular species or kinds, that, according to the several parts affected, each man may tell in some sort how to help or ease himself. I will treat of head-melancholy first, in which, as in all other good cures, we must begin with diet, as a matter of most moment, able oftentimes of itself to work this effect. "I have read," saith Laurentius, *cap.* 8 *de melanch.*, "that in old diseases which have gotten the upper hand or an habit, the manner of living is to more purpose than whatsoever can be drawn out of the most precious boxes of the apothecaries." This diet, as I have said, is not only in choice of meat and drink, but of all

those other non-natural things. Let air be clear and moist most part: diet moistening, of good juice, easy of digestion, and not windy: drink clear, and well brewed, not too strong, nor too small. "Make a melancholy man fat," as Rhasis saith,[1] "and thou hast finished the cure." Exercise not too remiss, nor too violent. Sleep a little more than ordinary. Excrements daily to be voided by art or nature;[2] and, which Fernelius enjoins his patient, *consil.* 44, above the rest, to avoid all passions and perturbations of the mind. Let him not be alone or idle (in any kind of melancholy), but still accompanied with such friends and familiars he most affects, neatly dressed, washed, and combed, according to his ability at least, in clean sweet linen, spruce, handsome, decent, and good apparel; for nothing sooner dejects a man than want, squalor, and nastiness, foul or old clothes out of fashion. Concerning the medicinal part, he that will satisfy himself at large (in this precedent of diet) and see all at once, the whole cure and manner of it in every distinct species, let him consult with Gordonius, Valescus, with Prosper Calenius, *lib. de atra bile ad Card. Cæsium*; Laurentius, *cap.* 8 *et* 9 *de melan* ; Ælian Montaltus, *de mel. cap.* 26, 27, 28, 29, 30; Donatus ab Altomari, *cap.* 7 *Artis med.*; Hercules de Saxonia, *in Panth. cap.* 7, *et tract. ejus peculiar. de melan. per Bolzettam edit. Venetiis*, 1620, *cap.* 17, 18, 19; Savonarola, *rub.* 82, *tract.* 8, *cap.* 1; Sckenkius, *in Prax. curat. Ital. med.*; Heurnius, *cap.* 12 *de morb.*; Victorius Faventinus, *Pract. Magn. et Empir.*; Hildesheim, *Spicil. 2 de man. et mel.*; Fel. Plater, Stockerus, Bruel, P. Bayerus, Forestus, Fuchsius, Capivaccius, Rondeletius, Jason Pratensis; Sallust. Salvian. *de remed. lib. 2, cap.* 1; Jacchinus, *iu* 9 *Rhasis*; Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17; Alexan. Messaria, *Pract. med. lib.* 1, *cap.* 21, *de mel.*; Piso, Hollerius, etc., that have culled out of those old Greeks, Arabians, and Latins whatsoever is observable or fit to be used. Or let him read those counsels and consultations of Hugo Senensis, *consil.* 13 *et* 14; Reinerus Solenander, *consil.* 6, *sec.* 1, *et consil.* 3, *sec.* 3; Crato, *consil.* 16, *lib.* 1; Montanus, 20, 22, and his following counsels; Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, *consult.* 44, 69, 77, 125, 129, 142; Fernelius, *consil.* 44, 45, 46; Jul. Cæsar Claudinus, Mercurialis, Frambesarius, Sennertus, etc.; wherein he shall find particular receipts, the whole method, preparatives, purgers, correctors, averters, cordials in great variety and abundance: out of which, because every man cannot attend to read or peruse them, I will collect, for the benefit of the reader, some few more notable medicines.

SUBSECT. II.—*Blood-letting*

Phlebotomy is promiscuously used before and after physic, commonly before, and upon occasion is often reiterated, if there be any need at least of it. For Galen and many others make a doubt of bleeding at all in this kind of head-melancholy. If the malady, saith Piso, *cap.* 23, and Altomarus, *cap.* 7, Fuchsius, *cap.* 33, "shall proceed primarily from the misaffected brain, the patient in such case shall not need at all to bleed, except the blood otherwise abound, the veins be full, inflamed blood, and the party ready to run mad." [1] In immaterial melancholy, which especially comes from a cold distemperature of spirits, Hercules de Saxonia, *cap.* 17, will not admit of phlebotomy; Laurentius, *cap.* 9, approves it out of the authority of the Arabians; but as Mesue, Rhasis, Alexander appoint, "especially in the head," [2] to open the veins of the forehead, nose, and ears is good. They commonly set cupping-glasses on the party's shoulders, having first scarified the place; they apply horse-leeches on the head, and in all melancholy diseases, whether essential or accidental, they cause the hemrods to be opened, having the eleventh aphorism of the sixth book of Hippocrates for their ground and warrant, which saith, "That in melancholy and mad men, the varicose tumour or hæmorrhoides appearing doth heal the same." Valescus prescribes blood-letting in all three kinds, whom Sallustus Salvianus follows. "If the blood abound, which is discerned by the fullness of the veins, his precedent diet, the party's laughter, age, etc., begin with the median or middle vein of the arm: if the blood be ruddy and clear, stop it, but if black in the spring-time, or a good season, or thick, let it run, according to the party's strength: and some eight or twelve days after, open the head-vein, and the veins in the forehead, or provoke it out of the nostrils, or cupping-glasses," etc.[3] Trallianus allows of this, "If there have been any suppression or stopping of blood at nose, or hemrods, or women's months, then to open a vein in the head or about the ankles." [4] Yet he doth hardly approve of this course, if melancholy be sited in the head alone, or in any other dotage, "except it primarily proceed from blood, or that the malady be increased by it; for blood-letting refrigerates and dries up, except the body be very full of blood, and a kind of ruddiness in the face." [5] Therefore I conclude with Aretæus, "Before you let blood, deliberate of it," [6] and well consider all circumstances belonging to it.

Subsect. III.—*Preparatives and Purgers*

After blood-letting we must proceed to other medicines; first prepare, and then purge, *Augeæ stabulum purgare*, make the body clean before we hope to do any good. Gualter Bruel would have a practitioner begin first with a clyster of his, which he prescribes before blood-letting: the common sort, as Mercurialis, Montaltus, *cap.* 30, etc., proceed from lenitives to preparatives, and so to purgers. Lenitives are well known, *electuarium lenitivum*, *diaphœnicum*, *diacatholicon*, etc. Preparatives are usually syrups of borage, bugloss, apples, fumitory, thyme, and epithyme, with double as much of the same decoction or distilled water, or of the waters of bugloss, balm, hops, endive, scolopendry, fumitory, etc., or these sod in whey, which must be reiterated and used for many days together. Purges come last, "which must not be used at all, if the malady may be otherwise helped," because they weaken nature and dry so much; and in giving of them, "we must begin with the gentlest first."[1] Some forbid all hot medicines, as Alexander and Salvianus, etc., *ne insaniores inde fiant* [lest it make them more crazy]; hot medicines increase the disease "by drying too much."[2] Purge downward rather than upward, use potions rather than pills, and when you begin physic, persevere and continue in a course; for as one observes, *movere et non educere in omnibus malum est:*[3] to stir up the humour (as one purge commonly doth), and not to prosecute, doth more harm than good. They must continue in a course of physic, yet not so that they tire and oppress nature, *danda quies naturæ*, they must now and then remit, and let nature have some rest. The most gentle purges to begin with, are senna,[4] cassia, epithyme, myrobalanes, catholicon: if these prevail not, we may proceed to stronger, as the confection of hamech, *pil. Indæ*, *fumitoriæ*, *de assaieret*, of lapis Armenus and lazuli, diasenna. Or if pills be too dry, some prescribe both hellebores in the last place,[5] amongst the rest Aretæus, "because this disease will resist a gentle medicine."[6] Laurentius and Hercules de Saxonia would have antimony tried last, "if the party be strong, and it warily given."[7] Trincavellius[8] prefers hierologodium, to whom Francis Alexander, in his *Apol. rad.* 5, subscribes; a very good medicine they account it. But Crato, in a counsel of his for the Duke of Bavaria's chancellor, wholly rejects it.

I find a vast chaos of medicines, a confusion of receipts and magistrals, amongst writers, appropriated to this disease; some

of the chiefest I will rehearse. To be sea-sick first is very good at seasonable times.[1] *Helleborismus Matthioli*, with which he vaunts and boasts he did so many several cures, "I never gave it" (saith he), "but, after once or twice, by the help of God, they were happily cured."[2] The manner of making it he sets down at large in his third book of Epistles to George Hantshius, a physician. Gualter Bruel and Heurnius make mention of it with great approbation; so doth Sckenkius in his memorable cures, and experimental medicines, *cent.* 6, *observ.* 37 that famous helleborism of Montanus, which he so often repeats in his consultations and counsels, as 28, *pro melan. sacerdote*, and *consil.* 148, *pro hypochondriaco*, and cracks "to be a most sovereign remedy for all melancholy persons, which he hath often given without offence, and found by long experience and observations to be such."[3]

Quercetan prefers a syrup of hellebore in his *Spagirica Pharmac.*, and hellebore's extract, *cap.* 5, of his invention likewise ("a most safe medicine and not unfit to be given children"[4]), before all remedies whatsoever.

Paracelsus, in his book of black hellebore, admits this medicine, but as it is prepared by him. "It is most certain" (saith he) "that the virtue of this herb is great, and admirable in effect, and little differing from balm itself; and he that knows well how to make use of it hath more art than all their books contain, or all the doctors in Germany can show."[5]

Ælianus Montaltus, in his exquisite work *de morb. capitis, cap.* 31, *de mel.*, sets a special receipt of his own, which in his practice "he fortunately used";[6] because it is but short I will set it down.

> ℞ *syrupi de pomis* ℥*ij, aquæ borag.* ℥*iiij, ellebori nigri per noctem infusi in ligatura 6 vel 8 gr. mane facta colatura exhibe.*

Other receipts of the same to this purpose you shall find in him. Valescus admires *pulvis hali*, and Jason Pratensis after him: the confection of which our new London Pharmacopœia hath lately revived. "Put case" (saith he) "all other medicines fail, by the help of God this alone shall do it, and 'tis a crowned medicine which must be kept in secret."[7]

> ℞ *epithymi semunc., lapidis lazuli, agarici ana* ℥*ij, scammonii,* ℥*j, caryophyllorum numero 20; pulverisentur omnia, et ipsius pulveris scrup. 4 singulis septimanis assumat.*

To these I may add *Arnoldi vinum buglossatum*, or borage

wine before mentioned, which Mizaldus [8] calls *vinum mirabile*, a wonderful wine, and Stockerus vouchsafes to repeat verbatim amongst other receipts; Rubeus his compound water out of Savonarola;[1] Pinetus his balm; Cardan's *pulvis hyacinthi*, with which, in his book *de curis admirandis*, he boasts that he had cured many melancholy persons in eight days, which Sckenkius puts amongst his observable medicines; [2] Altomarus his syrup, with which, he calls God so solemnly to witness, he hath in his kind done many excellent cures,[3] and which Sckenkius, *cent.* 7, *observ.* 80, mentioneth, Daniel Sennertus, *lib.* 1, *part.* 2, *cap.* 12, so much commends; Rulandus' admirable water for melancholy, which, *cent.* 2, *cap.* 96, he names *spiritum vitæ aureum, panaceam*, what not? and his absolute medicine of 50 eggs, *Curat. Empir. cent.* 1, *cur.* 5, to be taken three in a morning, with a powder of his. Faventinus, *Prac. Empir.*, doubles this number of eggs, and will have 101,[4] to be taken by three and three in like sort, which Sallustius Salvianus approves, *de red. med lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, with some of the same powder, till all be spent, a most excellent remedy for all melancholy and mad men.

℞ *epithymi, thymi, ana drachmas duas, sacchari albi unciam unam, croci grana tria,*
cinnamomi drachmam unam; misce, fiat pulvis.

All these yet are nothing to those chemical preparatives of *aqua chelidonia*, quintessence of hellebore, salts, extracts, distillations, oils, *aurum potabile*, etc.[5] Dr. Anthony, in his book *de auro potab., edit.* 1600, is all in all for it. "And though all the school of Galenists, with a wicked and unthankful pride and scorn, detest it in their practice, yet in more grievous diseases, when their vegetals will do no good," they are compelled to seek the help of minerals, though they "use them rashly, unprofitably, slackly, and to no purpose." [6] Rhenanus, a Dutch chemist, in his book *de sale e puteo emergente*, takes upon him to apologize for Anthony, and sets light by all that speak against him. But what do I meddle with this great controversy, which is the subject of many volumes? Let Paracelsus, Quercetan, Crollius, and the brethren of the Rosy Cross defend themselves as they may. Crato, Erastus, and the Galenists oppugn Paracelsus; he brags on the other side, he did more famous cures by this means than all the Galenists in Europe, and calls himself a monarch; Galen, Hippocrates, infants, illiterate, etc. As Thessalus of old railed against those ancient Asclepiadean writers, "he condemns others, insults, triumphs, overcomes all

antiquity" (saith Galen as if he spake to him), "declares himself a conqueror, and crowns his own doings."[1] "One drop of their chemical preparatives shall do more good than all their fulsome potions."[2] Erastus and the rest of the Galenists vilify them on the other side, as heretics in physic: "Paracelsus did that in physic, which Luther in divinity."[3] "A drunken rogue he was, a base fellow, a magician, he had the devil for his master, devils his familiar companions, and what he did was done by the help of the devil."[4] Thus they contend and rail, and every mart write books pro and con, *et adhuc sub judice lis est* [and the case is still proceeding]: let them agree as they will, I proceed.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Averters*

Averters and purgers must go together, as tending all to the same purpose, to divert this rebellious humour, and turn it another way. In this range, clysters and suppositories challenge a chief place, to draw this humour from the brain and heart to the more ignoble parts. Some would have them still used a few days between, and those to be made with the boiled seeds of anise, fennel, and bastard saffron, hops, thyme, epithyme, mallows, fumitory, bugloss, polypody, senna, diasenna, hamech, cassia, diacatholicon, hierologodium, oil of violets, sweet almonds, etc. For without question a clyster, opportunely used, cannot choose in this, as most other maladies, but to do very much good; *clysteres nutriunt*, sometimes clysters nourish, as they may be prepared, as I was informed not long since by a learned lecture of our Natural Philosophy Reader,[5] which he handled by way of discourse, out of some other noted physicians. Such things as provoke urine most commend, but not sweat. Trincávellius, *consil.* 16, *cap.* 1, in head-melancholy forbids it. P. Bayerus and others approve frictions of the outward parts, and to bathe them with warm water. Instead of ordinary frictions, Cardan prescribes rubbing with nettles till they blister the skin, which likewise Bassardus Visontinus so much magnifies.[6]

Sneezing, masticatories, and nasals are generally received. Montaltus, *cap.* 34, Hildesheim, *Spicil. 2, fol.* 136 and 138, give several receipts of all three. Hercules de Saxonia relates of an empiric in Venice "that had a strong water to purge by the mouth and nostrils, which he still used in head-melancholy, and would sell for no gold."[7]

To open months and hemrods is very good physic, "if they

have been formerly stopped."[1] Faventinus would have them opened with horse-leeches, so would Hercules de Saxonia. Julius Alexandrinus, *consil.* 185 *Scoltzii*, thinks aloes fitter: most[2] approve horse-leeches in this case, to be applied to the forehead, nostrils,[3] and other places.

Montaltus, *cap.* 29, out of Alexander and others, prescribes "cupping-glasses, and issues in the left thigh."[4] Aretæus, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 5, Paulus Regolinus, Sylvius, will have them without scarification, "applied to the shoulders and back, thighs and feet":[5] Montaltus, *cap.* 34, bids "open an issue in the arm, or hinder part of the head."[6] Piso enjoins ligatures, frictions, suppositories, and cupping-glasses, still without scarification, and the rest.[7]

Cauteries and hot irons are to be used "in the suture of the crown, and the seared or ulcerated place suffered to run a good while. 'Tis not amiss to bore the skull with an instrument, to let out the fuliginous vapours."[8] Sallust. Salvianus, *de re medic. lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, "because this humour hardly yields to other physic, would have the leg cauterized, or the left leg, below the knee,[9] and the head bored in two or three places,"[10] for that it much avails to the exhalation of the vapours. "I saw" (saith he) "a melancholy man at Rome, that by no remedies could be healed, but when by chance he was wounded in the head, and the skull broken, he was excellently cured."[11] Another, to the admiration of the beholders, "breaking his head with a fall from on high, was instantly recovered of his dotage."[12] Gordonius, *cap.* 13, *part.* 2, would have these cauteries tried last, when no other physic will serve. "The head to be shaved and bored to let out fumes, which without doubt will do much good. I saw a melancholy man wounded in the head with a sword, his brain-pan broken; so long as the wound was open he was well, but when his wound was healed his dotage returned again."[13] But Alexander Messaria, a professor in Padua, *lib.* 1 *Pract. med. cap.* 21, *de melanchol.*, will allow no cauteries at all, 'tis too stiff an humour and too thick, as he holds, to be so evaporated.

Guianerius, *cap.* 8, *tract.* 15, cured a nobleman in Savoy, by boring alone, "leaving the hole open a month together,"[14] by means of which, after two years' melancholy and madness, he was delivered. All approve of this remedy in the suture of the crown; but Arculanus would have the cautery to be made with gold. In many other parts these cauteries are prescribed for melancholy men, as in the thighs (Mercurialis, *consil.* 86), arms, legs (*idem, consil.* 6, *et* 19, *et* 25), Montanus, 86, Rodericus à

Fonseca, *tom. 2, consult.* 84, *pro hypochond., coxa dextra* [in the right thigh], etc., but most in the head, "if other physic will do no good."

SUBSECT. V.—*Alteratives and Cordials, corroborating, resolving the Relics, and mending the Temperament*

Because this humour is so malign of itself, and so hard to be removed, the relics are to be cleansed, by alteratives, cordials, and such means: the temper is to be altered and amended, with such things as fortify and strengthen the heart and brain, "which are commonly both affected in this malady, and do mutually misaffect one another": [1] which are still to be given every other day, or some few days inserted after a purge or like physic, as occasion serves, and are of such force that many times they help alone, and as Arnoldus holds in his Aphorisms, are to be "preferred before all other medicines, in what kind soever." [2]

Amongst this number of cordials and alteratives I do not find a more present remedy than a cup of wine or strong drink, if it be soberly and opportunely used. It makes a man bold, hardy, courageous, "whetteth the wit," [3] if moderately taken, and (as Plutarch saith, *Symp.* 7, *quæst.* 12) "it makes those which are otherwise dull to exhale and evaporate like frankincense," [4] or quicken (Xenophon adds) as oil doth fire.[5] "A famous cordial" Matthiolus, *in Dioscoridem*, calls it, "an excellent nutriment to refresh the body, it makes a good colour, a flourishing age, helps concoction, fortifies the stomach, takes away obstructions, provokes urine, drives out excrements, procures sleep, clears the blood, expels wind and cold poisons, attenuates, concocts, dissipates all thick vapours and fuliginous humours." [6] And that which is all in all to my purpose, it takes away fear and sorrow. *Curas edaces dissipat Evius* [7] [the God of Wine dissolves heart-eating care]. "It glads the heart of man" (Ps. civ, 15), *hilaritatis dulce seminarium* [a sweet nursery or cheerfulness]. Helena's bowl, the sole nectar of the gods, or that true nepenthes in Homer,[8] which puts away care and grief, as Oribasius, 5 *Collect. cap.* 7, and some others will, was naught else but a cup of good wine. "It makes the mind of the king and of the fatherless both one, of the bond and freeman, poor and rich; it turneth all his thoughts to joy and mirth, makes him remember no sorrow or debt, but enricheth his heart, and makes him speak

by talents" (Esdras iii, 19, 20, 21). It gives life itself, spirits, wit, etc. For which cause the ancients called Bacchus *Liber pater a liberando* [Father Liber, because he liberated], and sacrificed to Bacchus and Pallas still upon an altar.[1] "Wine measurably drunk, and in time, brings gladness and cheerfulness of mind," [2] it "cheereth God and men" (Judges ix, 13); *lætitiæ Bacchus dator* [Bacchus the giver of joy], it makes an old wife dance, and such as are in misery to forget evil, and be merry.[3]

Bacchus et afflictis requiem mortalibus affert,
Crura licet duro compede vincta forent.

Wine makes a troubled soul to rest,
Though feet with fetters be opprest.

Demetrius in Plutarch, when he fell into Seleucus' hands, and was prisoner in Syria, "spent his time with dice and drink that he might so ease his discontented mind, and avoid those continual cogitations of his present condition wherewith he was tormented." [4] Therefore Solomon, Prov. xxxi, 6, bids "wine be given to him that is ready to perish,[5] and to him that hath grief of heart; let him drink that he forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." *Sollicitis animis onus eximit*, it easeth a burdened soul, nothing speedier, nothing better; which the prophet Zachary perceived, when he said, "that in the time of Messias they of Ephraim should be glad, and their heart should rejoice as through wine." All which makes me very well approve of that pretty description of a feast in Bartholomæus Anglicus; [6] when grace was said, their hands washed, and the guests sufficiently exhilarated with good discourse, sweet music, dainty fare, *exhilarationis gratia, pocula iterum atque iterum offeruntur:* as a corollary to conclude the feast and continue their mirth, a grace-cup came in to cheer their hearts, and they drank healths to one another again and again. Which (as J. Fredericus Matenesius, *Crit. Christ. lib. 2, cap.* 5, 6, *et* 7) was an old custom in all ages in every commonwealth, so as they be not enforced *bibere per violentiam* [to drink by violent means], but as in that royal feast of Assuerus,[7] which lasted 180 days, "without compulsion they drank by order in golden vessels," when and what they would themselves. This of drink is a most easy and parable remedy, a common, a cheap, still ready against fear, sorrow, and such troublesome thoughts that molest the mind; as brimstone with fire, the spirits on a sudden are enlightened by it. "No better physic" (saith

Rhasis[1]) "for a melancholy man: and he that can keep company, and carouse, needs no other medicines," 'tis enough. His countryman Avicenna, 31 *Doct. 2, cap.* 8, proceeds farther yet, and will have him that is troubled in mind, or melancholy, not to drink only, but now and then to be drunk: excellent good physic it is for this and many other diseases. Magninus, *Reg. san. part.* 3, *cap.* 31, will have them to be so once a month at least, and gives his reasons for it, "because it scours the body by vomit, urine, sweat, of all manner of superfluities, and keeps it clean."[2] Of the same mind is Seneca the philosopher, in his book *de tranquil. lib.* 1, *cap.* 15: *Nonnunquam ut in aliis morbis ad ebrietatem usque veniendum; curas deprimit, tristitiæ medetur,* it is good sometimes to be drunk, it helps sorrow, depresseth cares; and so concludes his tract with a cup of wine: *Habes, Serene carissime, quæ ad tranquillitatem animæ pertinent* [Here, my dear Serenus, you have what is required for peace of mind]. But these are Epicureal tenents, tending to looseness of life, luxury, and atheism, maintained alone by some heathens, dissolute Arabians, profane Christians, and are exploded by Rabbi Moses, *tract.* 4, Guliel. Placentius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 8, Valescus de Taranta, and most accurately ventilated by Jo. Sylvaticus, a late writer and physician of Milan, *Med. cont. cap.* 14, where you shall find this tenent copiously confuted.

Howsoever you say, if this be true that wine and strong drink have such virtue to expel fear and sorrow and to exhilarate the mind, ever hereafter let 's drink and be merry.

> *Prome reconditum, Lyde strenua, Cæcubum*
> *Capaciores puer huc affer scyphos,*
> *Et Chia vina aut Lesbia.*[3]
>
> Come, lusty, Lyda, fill 's a cup of sack.
> And, sirrah drawer, bigger pots we lack,
> And Scio wines that have so good a smack.

I say with him in A. Gellius,[4] "let us maintain the vigour of our souls with a moderate cup of wine," *Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis*[5] [cups made for joy], "and drink to refresh our mind; if there be any cold sorrow in it, or torpid bashfulness, let 's wash it all away." *Nunc vino pellite curas* [now banish care with wine]; so saith Horace,[6] so saith Anacreon:

> Μεθύοντα γάρ με κεῖσθαι
> Πολὺ κρεῖσσον ἢ θανόντα.[7]
>
> ['Tis much better that I should lie drunk than dead.]

Let 's drive down care with a cup of wine: and so say I too (though I drink none myself), for all this may be done, so that it be modestly, soberly, opportunely used: so that "they be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess," which our Apostle forewarns; for, as Chrysostom well comments on that place,[1] *ad lætitiam datum est vinum, non ad ebrietatem*, 'tis for mirth, wine, but not for madness: and will you know where, when, and how that is to be understood? *Vis discere ubi bonum sit vinum? Audi quid dicat Scriptura*, hear the Scriptures, "Give wine to them that are in sorrow," or, as Paul bid Timothy drink wine for his stomach's sake, for concoction, health, or some such honest occasion. Otherwise, as Pliny telleth us,[2] if singular moderation be not had, "nothing so pernicious, 'tis mere vinegar, *blandus dæmon* [a seductive demon], poison itself." But hear a more fearful doom (Hab. ii, 15 and 16): "Woe be to him that makes his neighbour drunk, shameful spewing shall be upon his glory." Let not good fellows triumph therefore (saith Matthiolus) that I have so much commended wine; if it be immoderately taken, "instead of making glad, it confounds both body and soul, it makes a giddy head, a sorrowful heart." And 'twas well said of the poet of old, "Wine causeth mirth and grief," [3] nothing so good for some, so bad for others,[4] especially, as one observes,[5] *qui a causa calida male habent*, that are hot or inflamed (and so of spices, they alone, as I have showed, cause head-melancholy themselves); they must not use wine as an ordinary drink, or in their diet.[6] But to determine with Laurentius, *cap.* 8 *de melan.*, wine is bad for madmen, and such as are troubled with heat in their inner parts or brains; but to melancholy which is cold (as most is), wine, soberly used, may be very good.

I may say the same of the decoction of china-roots, sassafras, sarsaparilla, guaiacum: china, saith Manardus, makes a good colour in the face, takes away melancholy, and all infirmities proceeding from cold; even so sarsaparilla provokes sweat mightily, guaiacum dries. Claudinus, *consult.* 89 *et* 46, Montanus, Capivaccius, *consult.* 188 *Scoltzii*, make frequent and good use of guaiacum and china, "so that the liver be not incensed," [7] good for such as are cold, as most melancholy men are, but by no means to be mentioned in hot.

The Turks have a drink called coffa (for they use no wine), so named of a berry as black as soot, and as bitter (like that black drink which was in use amongst the Lacedæmonians, and perhaps the same), which they sip still of, and sup as warm as

they can suffer; they spend much time in those coffa-houses, which are somewhat like our alehouses or taverns, and there they sit chatting and drinking to drive away the time, and to be merry together, because they find by experience that kind of drink, so used, helpeth digestion, and procureth alacrity. Some of them take opium to this purpose.

Borage, balm, saffron, gold, I have spoken of; Montaltus, *cap.* 23, commends scorzonera roots condite. Garcias ab Horto, *Plant. hist. lib.* 2, *cap.* 25, makes mention of an herb called datura, "which, if it be eaten for twenty-four hours following, takes away all sense of grief, makes them incline to laughter and mirth":[1] and another called bang, like in effect to opium, "which puts them for a time into a kind of ecstasis," and makes them gently to laugh. One of the Roman emperors had a seed, which he did ordinarily eat to exhilarate himself. Christophorus Ayrerus[2] prefers bezoar stone, and the confection of alkermes, before other cordials, and amber in some cases. "Alkermes comforts the inner parts";[3] and bezoar stone hath an especial virtue against all melancholy affections, "it refresheth the heart, and corroborates the whole body."[4] Amber provokes urine, helps the body, breaks wind, etc.[5] After a purge, three or four grains of bezoar stone and three grain of ambergrease, drunk or taken in borage or bugloss water in which gold hot hath been quenched, will do much good, and the purge shall diminish less (the heart so refreshed) of the strength and substance of the body.

℞ *confect. alkermes* ℥ss, *lap. bezoar.* ℈j, *succini albi subtiliss. pulverisat.* ℈jj, *cum syrup. de cort. citri; fiat electuarium.*

To bezoar's stone most subscribe, Manardus, and many others;[6] "it takes away sadness, and makes him merry that useth it; I have seen some that have been much diseased with faintness, swooning, and melancholy, that, taking the weight of three grains of this stone in the water of ox-tongue, have been cured." Garcias ab Horto brags how many desperate cures he hath done upon melancholy men by this alone, when all physicians had forsaken them. But alkermes many except against; in some cases it may help, if it be good and of the best, such as that of Montpelier in France, which Jodocus Sincerus, *Itinerario Galliæ*,[7] so much magnifies, and would have no traveller omit to see it made. But it is not so general a medicine as the other. Fernelius, *consil.* 49, suspects alkermes,

by reason of its heat; "Nothing" (saith he) "sooner exasperates this disease than the use of hot working meats and medicines"; and would have them for that cause warily taken.[1] I conclude, therefore, of this and all other medicines, as Thucydides of the plague at Athens, no remedy could be prescribed for it, *nam quod uni profuit, hoc aliis erat exitio:* there is no catholic medicine to be had: that which helps one, is pernicious to another.

Diamargaritum frigidum, diambra, diaboraginatum, electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, de gemmis, dianthos, diamoschum dulce et amarum, electuarium conciliatoris, syrup. cydoniorum de pomis, conserves of roses, violets, fumitory, *enula campana,* satyrion, lemons, orange-peels condite, etc., have their good use.

℞ *diamoschi dulcis et amari, ana ʒjj;*
diabuglossati, diaboraginati, sacchari violacei,
ana ℥j; misce cum syrupo de pomis.[2]

Every physician is full of such receipts: one only I will add for the rareness of it, which I find recorded by many learned authors, as an approved medicine against dotage, head-melancholy, and such diseases of the brain. Take a ram's head[3] that never meddled with an ewe, cut off at a blow, and the horns only taken away, boil it well, skin and wool together; after it is well sod, take out the brains, and put these spices to it, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, mace, cloves, *ana ℥ss,* mingle the powder of these spices with it, and heat them in a platter upon a chafing-dish of coals together, stirring them well, that they do not burn; take heed it be not overmuch dried, or drier than a calf's brains ready to be eaten. Keep it so prepared, and for three days give it the patient fasting, so that he fast two hours after it. It may be eaten with bread in an egg or broth, or any way, so it be taken. For fourteen days let him use this diet, drink no wine, etc. Gesner, *Hist. animal. lib.* 1, *pag.* 917; Caricterius, *Pract.* 13, *in Nich. de metri. pag.* 129; *Iatro. Wittenberg. edit. Tubing. pag.* 62, mention this medicine, though with some variation; he that list may try it, and many such.[4]

Odoraments to smell to, of rose-water, violet flowers, balm, rose-cakes, vinegar, etc., do much recreate the brains and spirits; according to Solomon, Prov. xxvii, 9, "They rejoice the heart," and as some say, nourish: 'tis a question commonly controverted in our schools, *an odores nutriant* [whether scents nourish]; let Ficinus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 18, decide it; many arguments he brings to prove it:[5] as of Democritus, that lived by the smell of bread alone, applied to his nostrils, for some few days, when for old

age he could eat no meat. Ferrerius, *lib. 2 Meth.*, speaks of an excellent confection of his making, of wine, saffron, etc., which he prescribed to dull, weak, feeble, and dying men to smell to, and by it to have done very much good, *æque fere profuisse olfactu et potu*, as if he had given them drink. Our noble and learned Lord Verulam,[1] in his book *de vita et morte*, commends therefore all such cold smells as any way serve to refrigerate the spirits. Montanus, *consil.* 31, prescribes a form which he would have his melancholy patient never to have out of his hands. If you will have them spagirically prepared, look in Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chymica.*

Irrigations of the head shaven, "of the flowers of water-lilies, lettuce, violets, camomile, wild mallows, wether's-head, etc.,"[2] must be used many mornings together. Montanus, *consil.* 31, would have the head so washed once a week. Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, *consult.* 44, for an Italian count troubled with head-melancholy, repeats many medicines which he tried, "but two alone which did the cure: use of whey made of goat's milk, with the extract of hellebore, and irrigations of the head with water-lilies, lettuce, violets, camomile, etc., upon the suture of the crown."[3] Piso commends a ram's lungs applied hot to the fore-part of the head, or a young lamb divided in the back, exenterated, etc.;[4] all acknowledge the chief cure to consist in moistening throughout. Some, saith Laurentius, use powders, and caps to the brain; but forasmuch as such aromatical things are hot and dry, they must be sparingly administered.

Unto the heart we may do well to apply bags, epithemes, ointments, of which Laurentius, *cap.* 9 *de melan.*, gives examples. Bruel prescribes an epitheme for the heart, of bugloss, borage, water-lily, violet waters, sweet wine, balm leaves, nutmegs, cloves, etc.

For the belly, make a fomentation of oil, in which the seeds of cummin, rue, carrots, dill, have been boiled.[5]

Baths are of wonderful great force in this malady, much admired by Galen,[6] Aetius,[7] Rhasis, etc., of sweet water, in which is boiled the leaves of mallows, roses, violets, water-lilies, wether's-head, flowers of bugloss, camomile, melilot, etc. Guianerius, *cap.* 8, *tract.* 15, would have them used twice a day, and when they come forth of the baths, their backbones to be anointed with oil of almonds, violets, nymphæa, fresh capon-grease, etc.

Amulets and things to be borne about, I find prescribed, taxed by some, approved by Renodeus, Platerus (*Amuleta, inquit,*

non negligenda [he says that amulets should not be neglected]), and others; look for them in Mizaldus, Porta, Albertus, etc. Bassardus Visontinus, *Ant. philos.*, commends hypericon, or St. John's wort, gathered on a Friday in the hour of Jupiter, "when it comes to his effectual operation (that is about the full moon in July); so gathered and borne, or hung about the neck, it mightily helps this affection, and drives away all phantastical spirits." [1] Philes, a Greek author that flourished in the time of Michael Palæologus, writes [2] that a sheep or kid's skin, whom a wolf worried, *Hædus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi* [3] [a kid snatched from the jaws of a cruel wolf], ought not at all to be worn about a man, "because it causeth palpitation of the heart," not for any fear, but a secret virtue which amulets have. A ring made of the hoof of an ass's right fore-foot carried about, etc.: I say with Renodeus,[4] they are not altogether to be rejected. Peony doth cure epilepsy; precious stones most diseases; a wolf's dung borne with one helps the colic,[5] a spider an ague,[6] etc. Being in the country in the vacation time not many years since, at Lindley in Leicestershire, my father's house, I first observed this amulet of a spider in a nut-shell lapped in silk, etc., so applied for an ague by my mother;[7] whom although I knew to have excellent skill in chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, etc., and such experimental medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help, yet, among all other experiments, this methought was most absurd and ridiculous, I could see no warrant for it. *Quid aranea cum febre?* [What has a spider to do with fever?] For what antipathy? till at length, rambling amongst authors (as often I do), I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Aldrovandus, *cap. de aranea, lib. de insectis*; I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience. Some medicines are to be exploded, that consist of words, characters, spells, and charms, which can do no good at all, but out of a strong conceit, as Pomponatius proves; or the devil's policy, who is the first founder and teacher of them.

SUBSECT. VI.—*Correctors of Accidents to Procure Sleep. Against fearful Dreams, Redness, etc.*

When you have used all good means and helps of alteratives, averters, diminutives, yet there will be still certain accidents to be corrected and amended, as waking, fearful dreams, flushing in the face to some, ruddiness, etc.

Waking, by reason of their continual cares, fears, sorrows, dry brains, is a symptom that much crucifies melancholy men, and must therefore be speedily helped, and sleep by all means procured, which sometimes is a sufficient remedy of itself without any other physic.[1] Sckenkius, in his Observations, hath an example of a woman that was so cured. The means to procure it are inward or outward. Inwardly taken, are simples, or compounds; simples, as poppy, nymphæa, violets, roses, lettuce, mandrake, henbane, nightshade or solanum, saffron, hemp-seed, nutmegs, willows with their seeds, juice, decoctions, distilled waters, etc. Compounds are syrups, or opiates, syrup of poppy, violets, verbasco, which are commonly taken with distilled waters.

> ℞ *diacodii* ℥*j*, *diascordii* ʒ*ss*, *aquæ lactucæ* ℥*iij ss*; *mista fiat potio ad horam somni sumenda.*

Requies Nicholai, *Philonium Romanum*, *Triphera magna*, *pilulæ de cynoglossa*, diascordium, *laudanum Paracelsi*, opium, are in use, etc. Country folks commonly make a posset of hemp-seed, which Fuchsius in his Herbal so much discommends; yet I have seen the good effect, and it may be used where better medicines are not to be had.

Laudanum Paracelsi is prescribed in two or three grains, with a dram of diascordium, which Oswald. Crollius commends. Opium itself is most part used outwardly, to smell to in a ball, though commonly so taken by the Turks to the same quantity for a cordial,[2] and at Goa in the Indies: the dose forty or fifty grains.

Rulandus calls *Requiem Nicholai, ultimum refugium*, the last refuge; but of this and the rest look for peculiar receipts in Victorius Faventinus, *cap. de phrenesi*, Heurnius, *cap. de mania*, Hildesheim, *Spicil.* 4, *de somno et vigil.*, etc. Outwardly used, as oil of nutmegs by extraction or expression with rosewater to anoint the temples, oils of poppy, nenuphar, mandrake, purslane, violets, all to the same purpose.

Montan., *consil.* 24 and 25, much commends odoraments of

opium, vinegar, and rose-water. Laurentius, *cap.* 9, prescribes pomanders and nodules; see the receipts in him; Codronchus, wormwood to smell to.[1]

Unguentum alabastritum, populeum, are used to anoint the temples, nostrils, or, if they be too weak, they mix saffron and opium. Take a grain or two of opium, and dissolve it with three or four drops of rose-water in a spoon, and after mingle with it as much *unguentum populeum* as a nut, use it as before: or else take half a dram of opium, *unguentum populeum,* oil of nenuphar, rose-water, rose-vinegar, of each half an ounce, with as much virgin wax as a nut, anoint your temples with some of it, *ad horam somni* [at bed-time].

Sacks of wormwood, mandrake,[2] henbane,[3] roses made like pillows and laid under the patient's head, are mentioned by Cardan and Mizaldus; "to anoint the soles of the feet with the fat of a dormouse, the teeth with ear-wax of a dog, swine's gall, hare's ears":[4] charms, etc.

Frontlets are well known to every goodwife: rose-water and vinegar, with a little woman's milk, and nutmegs grated upon a rose-cake applied to both temples.

For an emplaster, take of castorium a dram and a half, of opium half a scruple, mixed both together with a little water of life, make two small plasters thereof, and apply them to the temples.

Rulandus, *cent.* 1, *cur.* 17, *cent.* 3, *cur.* 94, prescribes epithemes and lotions of the head, with the decoction of flowers of nymphæa, violet-leaves, mandrake roots, henbane, white poppy; Herc. de Saxonia, *stillicidia,* or droppings, etc. Lotions of the feet do much avail of the said herbs: by these means, saith Laurentius, I think you may procure sleep to the most melancholy man in the world. Some use horse-leeches behind the ears, and apply opium to the place.

Bayerus,[5] *lib.* 2, *cap.* 13, sets down some remedies against fearful dreams, and such as walk and talk in their sleep. Baptista Porta, *Mag. nat. lib.* 2, *cap.* 6, to procure pleasant dreams and quiet rest, would have you take hippoglossa, or the herb horse-tongue, balm, to use them or their distilled waters after supper, etc. Such men must not eat beans, pease, garlic, onions, cabbage, venison, hare, use black wines, or any meat hard of digestion at supper, or lie on their backs, etc.

Rusticus pudor, bashfulness, flushing in the face, high colour, ruddiness, are common grievances, which much torture many melancholy men, when they meet a man, or come in company

of their betters, strangers, after a meal,[1] or if they drink a cup of wine or strong drink, they are as red and flect, and sweat, as if they had been at a mayor's feast, *præsertim si metus accesserit* [especially if at the same time they are in fear], it exceeds, they think every man observes, takes notice of it: and fear alone will effect it, suspicion without any other cause.[2] Sckenkius, *Observ. med. lib.* 1, speaks of a waiting-gentlewoman in the Duke of Savoy's court, that was so much offended with it, that she kneeled down to him, and offered Biarus, a physician, all that she had to be cured of it. And 'tis most true, that Antony Lodovicus[3] saith in his book *de pudore*, "bashfulness either hurts or helps"; such men I am sure it hurts. If it proceed from suspicion or fear, Felix Plater[4] prescribes no other remedy but to reject and contemn it: *Id populus curat scilicet* [to be sure, people take note of it], as a worthy physician[5] in our town said to a friend of mine in like case, complaining without a cause; suppose one look red, what matter is it? make light of it, who observes it?

If it trouble at or after meals (as Jobertus observes, *Med. pract. lib.* 1, *cap.* 7[6]), after a little exercise or stirring, for many are then hot and red in the face, or if they do nothing at all, especially women; he would have them let blood in both arms, first one, then another, two or three days between, if blood abound; to use frictions of the other parts, feet especially, and washing of them, because of that consent which is between the head and the feet. And withal to refrigerate the face, by washing it often with rose, violet, nenuphar, lettuce, lovage waters, and the like:[7] but the best of all is that *lac virginale*, or strained liquor of litargy: it is diversely prepared; by Jobertus thus: ℞ *lithar. argent. unc.* j, *cerussæ candidissimæ* ʒ jjj, *caphuræ* ϑ jj; *dissolvantur aquarum solani, lactucæ, et nenupharis ana unc.* jjj, *aceti vini albi unc.* jj; *aliquot horas resideat, deinde transmittatur per philt., aqua servetur in vase vitreo, ac ea bis terve facies quotidie irroretur.* Quercetan, *Spagir. phar. cap.* 6, commends the water of frogs' spawn for ruddiness in the face.[8] Crato, *consil.* 283 *Scoltzii*, would fain have them use all summer the condite flowers of succory, strawberry-water, roses[9] (cupping-glasses are good for the time), *consil.* 285 *et* 286, and to defecate impure blood with the infusion of senna, savory, balm-water. Hollerius knew one cured alone with the use of succory boiled,[10] and drunk for five months, every morning in the summer.

It is good overnight to anoint the face with hare's blood, and in the morning to wash it with strawberry and cowslip water,

the juice of distilled lemons,[1] juice of cucumbers, or to use the seeds of melons, or kernels of peaches beaten small, or the roots of arum, and mixed with wheat-bran to bake it in an oven, and to crumble it in strawberry-water, or to put fresh cheese-curds to a red face.[2]

If it trouble them at meal-times that flushing, as oft it doth, with sweating or the like, they must avoid all violent passions and actions, as laughing, etc., strong drink, and drink very little, one draught, saith Crato,[3] and that about the midst of their meal; avoid at all times indurate salt, and especially spice and windy meat.

Crato prescribes the condite fruit of wild rose to a nobleman his patient, to be taken before dinner or supper, to the quantity of a chestnut. It is made of sugar, as that of quinces. The decoction of the roots of sow-thistle before meat, by the same author is much approved.[4] To eat of a baked apple some advise, or of a preserved quince, cummin-seed prepared with meat instead of salt, to keep down fumes; not to study or to be intentive after meals.

℞ *nucleorum persic. seminis melonum ana unc.* ℈ss
aquæ fragorum l. ij; misce, utatur mane.

To apply cupping-glasses to the shoulders [5] is very good. For the other kind of ruddiness which is settled in the face with pimples, etc., because it pertains not to my subject, I will not meddle with it. I refer you to Crato's Counsels, Arnoldus, *lib.* 1 *Breviar. cap.* 39, 1, Ruland, Peter Forestus, *de fuco, lib.* 31, *obser.* 2, to Platerus, Mercurialis, Ulmus, Rondeletius, Heurnius, Manardus, and others that have written largely of it.

Those other grievances and symptoms of headache, palpitation of heart, vertigo, deliquium, etc., which trouble many melancholy men, because they are copiously handled apart in every physician, I do voluntarily omit.

MEMB. II.

Cure of Melancholy over all the Body

Where the melancholy blood possesseth the whole body with the brain, it is best to begin with blood-letting.[6] The Greeks prescribe the median or middle vein to be opened,[7] and so much blood to be taken away as the patient may well spare, and the

cut that is made must be wide enough. The Arabians hold it fittest to be taken from that arm on which side there is more pain and heaviness in the head: if black blood issue forth, bleed on; if it be clear and good, let it be instantly suppressed, "because the malice of melancholy is much corrected by the goodness of the blood."[1] If the party's strength will not admit much evacuation in this kind at once, it must be assayed again and again: if it may not be conveniently taken from the arm, it must be taken from the knees and ankles, especially to such men or women whose hemrods or months have been stopped. If the malady continue, it is not amiss to evacuate in a part in the forehead,[2] and to virgins in the ankles, who are melancholy for love matters; so to widows that are much grieved and troubled with sorrow and cares: for bad blood flows in the heart, and so crucifies the mind. The hemrods are to be opened with an instrument or horse-leeches, etc. See more in Montaltus, *cap.* 29. Sckenkius hath an example of one that was cured by an accidental wound in his thigh; much bleeding freed him from melancholy.[3] Diet, diminutives, alteratives, cordials, correctors as before, intermixed as occasion serves, "all their study must be to make a melancholy man fat, and then the cure is ended."[4] *Diuretica*, or medicines to procure urine, are prescribed by some in this kind, hot and cold: hot where the heat of the liver doth not forbid; cold where the heat of the liver is very great: amongst hot are parsley roots, lovage, fennel, etc.: cold, melon-seeds, etc., with whey of goat's milk, which is the common conveyer.[5]

To purge and purify the blood, use sow-thistle, succory, senna, endive, carduus benedictus, dandelion, hop, maidenhair, fumitory, bugloss, borage, etc., with their juice, decoctions, distilled waters, syrups, etc.[6]

Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chym.*, much admires salt of corals in this case, and Aetius, *Tetrabib. ser.* 2, *cap.* 114, *hieram Archigenis*, which is an excellent medicine to purify the blood, "for all melancholy affections, falling sickness, none to be compared to it."

MEMB. III.

Subsect. I.—*Cure of Hypochondriacal Melancholy*

In this cure, as in the rest, is especially required the rectification of those six non-natural things above all, as good diet, which Montanus, *consil.* 27, enjoins a French nobleman, "to have an especial care of it, without which all other remedies are in vain." Blood-letting is not to be used, except the patient's body be very full of blood, and that it be derived from the liver and spleen to the stomach and his vessels, then to draw it back, to cut the inner vein of either arm,[1] some say the *salvatella*, and if the malady be continuate, to open a vein in the forehead.[2]

Preparatives and alteratives may be used as before, saving that there must be respect had as well to the liver, spleen, stomach, hypochondries, as to the heart and brain. To comfort the stomach [3] and inner parts against wind and obstructions, by Aretæus, Galen, Actius, Aurelianus, etc., and many latter writers, are still prescribed the decoctions of wormwood, centaury, pennyroyal, betony, sod in whey and daily drunk: many have been cured by this medicine alone.

Prosper Alpinus and some others as much magnify the water of Nilus against this malady, an especial good remedy for windy melancholy. For which reason belike Ptolemæus Philadelphus, when he married his daughter Berenice to the King of Assyria (as Celsus, *lib* 2, records), *magnis impensis Nili aquam afferri jussit*, to his great charge caused the water of Nilus to be carried with her, and gave command that during her life she should use no other drink. I find those that commend use of apples, in splenetic and this kind of melancholy (lamb's-wool some call it), which, howsoever approved, must certainly be corrected of cold rawness and wind.

Codronchus, in his book *de sale absin.*, magnifies the oil and salt of wormwood above all other remedies, "which works better and speedier than any simple whatsoever, and much to be preferred before all those fulsome decoctions and infusions, which must offend by reason of their quantity; this alone, in a small measure taken, expels wind and that most forcibly, moves urine, cleanseth the stomach of all gross humours, crudities, helps appetite," etc.[4] Arnoldus hath a wormwood wine which he would have used, which every pharmacopœia speaks of.

Diminutives and purgers may be taken as before,[1] of hiera, manna, cassia, which Montanus, *consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot, in this kind prefers before all other simples, "And these must be often used, still abstaining from those which are more violent lest they do exasperate the stomach, etc., and the mischief by that means be increased;" [2] though in some physicians I find very strong purgers, hellebore itself, prescribed in this affection. If it long continue, vomits may be taken after meat, or otherwise gently procured with warm water, oxymel, etc., now and then. Fuchsius, *cap.* 33, prescribes hellebore; but still take heed in this malady, which I have often warned, of hot medicines, "because" (as Salvianus adds) "drought follows heat, which increaseth the disease": [3] and yet Baptista Sylvaticus, *controv.* 32, forbids cold medicines, "because they increase obstructions and other bad symptoms." [4] But this varies as the parties do, and 'tis not easy to determine which to use. "The stomach most part in this infirmity is cold, the liver hot; scarce therefore" (which Montanus insinuates, *consil.* 229, for the Earl of Montfort) "can you help the one and not hurt the other". [5] much discretion must be used; take no physic at all, he concludes, without great need. Lælius Eugubinus, *consil.* 77 for an hypochondriacal German prince, used many medicines; "but it was after signified to him in letters, that the decoction of china and sassafras, and salt of sassafras, wrought him an incredible good." [6] In his 108th *consult.* he used as happily the same remedies; this to a third might have been poison, by overheating his liver and blood.

For the other parts look for remedies in Savonarola, Gordonius, Massaria, Mercatus, Johnson, etc. One for the spleen, amongst many other, I will not omit, cited by Hildesheim, *Spicil.* 2, prescribed by Mat. Flaccus, and out of the authority of Benevenius. Antony Benevenius in a hypochondriacal passion "cured an exceeding great swelling of the spleen with capers alone, a meat befitting that infirmity, and frequent use of the water of a smith's forge; by this physic he helped a sick man whom all other physicians had forsaken, that for seven years had been splenetic." [7] And of such force is this water "that those creatures as drink of it have commonly little or no spleen." [8] See more excellent medicines for the spleen in him and Lod. Mercatus,[9] who is a great magnifier of this medicine. This *chalybs præparatus*, or steel-drink, is much likewise commended to this disease by Daniel Sennertus, *lib.* 1, *part.* 2, cap. 12, and admired by J. Cæsar Claudinus, *Respons.* 29; he calls steel

the proper alexipharmacum of this malady,[1] and much magnifies it; look for receipts in them. Averters must be used to the liver and spleen, and to scour the meseraic veins; and they are either to open, or provoke urine. You can open no place better than the hemrods, "which if by horse-leeches they be made to flow, there may not be again such an excellent remedy," as Plater holds.[2] Sallustius Salvianus will admit no other phlebotomy but this; and by his experience in an hospital which he kept, he found all mad and melancholy men worse for other blood-letting. Laurentius, *cap.* 15, calls this of horse-leeches a sure remedy to empty the spleen and meseraic membrane. Only Montanus, *consil.* 241, is against it; "To other men" (saith he) "this opening of the hemrods seems to be a profitable remedy; for my part I do not approve of it, because it draws away the thinnest blood, and leaves the thickest behind." [3]

Aetius, Vidus Vidius, Mercurialis, Fuchsius, recommend diuretics, or such things as provoke urine, as aniseeds, dill, fennel, germander, ground-pine, sod in water, or drunk in powder, and yet P. Bayerus [4] is against them, and so is Hollerius; "All melancholy men" (saith he) "must avoid such things as provoke urine, because by them the subtile or thinnest is evacuated, the thicker matter remains."

Clysters are in good request. Trincavellius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 38, for a young nobleman, esteems of them in the first place, and Hercules de Saxonia, *Panth. lib* 1, *cap.* 16, is a great approver of them. "I have found" (saith he) "by experience that many hypochondriacal melancholy men have been cured by the sole use of clysters." [5] Receipts are to be had in him.

Besides those fomentations, irrigations, inunctions, odoraments, prescribed for the head, there must be the like used for the liver, spleen, stomach, hypochondries, etc. "In crudity" (saith Piso) "'tis good to bind the stomach hard," [6] to hinder wind and to help concoction.

Of inward medicines I need not speak; use the same cordials as before. In this kind of melancholy, some prescribe treacle in winter, especially before or after purges, or in the spring, as Avicenna; [7] Trincavellius,[8] mithridate; Montaltus,[9] peony seeds, unicorn's horn, *os de corde cervi* [a bone from a deer's heart], etc.

Amongst topics or outward medicines, none are more precious than baths, but of them I have spoken. Fomentations to the hypochondries are very good, of wine and water in which are sod southernwood, melilot, epithyme, mugwort, senna, polypody, as also cerotes,[10] plasters,[11] liniments, ointments for the spleen,

liver, and hypochondries, of which look for examples in Laurentius, Jobertus, *lib. 3, cap.* 1, *Pra. med.*, Montanus, *consil.* 231, Montaltus, *cap.* 33, Hercules de Saxonia, Faventinus. And so of epithemes, digestive powders, bags, oils. Octavius Horatianus, *lib. 2, cap.* 5, prescribes chalastic cataplasms, or dry purging medicines; Piso dropaces of pitch and oil of rue, applied at certain times to the stomach, to the metaphrene, or part of the back which is over against the heart;[1] Aetius sinapisms; Montaltus, *cap.* 35, would have the thighs to be cauterized,[2] Mercurialis prescribes beneath the knees; Lælius Eugubinus, *consil.* 77, for an hypochondriacal Dutchman, will have the cautery made in the right thigh, and so Montanus, *consil.* 55. The same Montanus, *consil.* 34, approves of issues in the arms or hinder part of the head. Bernardus Paternus, in Hildesheim, *Spicil. 2*, would have issues made in both the thighs;[3] Lod. Mercatus[4] prescribes them near the spleen, *aut prope ventriculi regimen* [or near the region of the belly], or in either of the thighs. Ligatures, frictions, and cupping-glasses above or about the belly, without scarification, which Felix Platerus so much approves,[5] may be used as before.

SUBSECT. II.—*Correctors to expel Wind. Against Costiveness, etc.*

In this kind of melancholy one of the most offensive symptoms is wind, which, as in the other species, so in this, hath great need to be corrected and expelled.

The medicines to expel it are either inwardly taken, or outwardly. Inwardly to expel wind, are simples or compounds: simples are herbs, roots, etc., as galanga, gentian, angelica, enula, calamus aromaticus, valerian, zedoary, iris, condite ginger, aristolochy, cicliminus, china, dittander, pennyroyal, rue, calamint, bay-berries and bay-leaves, betony, rosemary, hyssop, sabine, centaury, mint, camomile, stœchas, agnus castus, broom-flowers, origan, orange-peels, etc.; spices, as saffron, cinnamon, bezoar stone, myrrh, mace, nutmegs, pepper, cloves, ginger, seeds of anise, fennel, ammi, cari, nettle, rue, etc., juniper berries, grana Paradisi; compounds, dianisum, diagalanga, diacyminum, diacalaminth, *electuarium de baccis lauri*, *benedicta laxativa, pulvis ad flatus, antid. Florent., pulvis carminativus, aromaticum rosatum*, treacle, mithridate, etc. This one caution of Gualter Bruel is to be observed in the administering of these hot medicines and dry, "that whilst they covet to

expel wind, they do not inflame the blood and increase the disease. Sometimes" (as he saith) "medicines must more decline to heat, sometimes more to cold, as the circumstances require, and as the parties are inclined to heat or cold." [1]

Outwardly taken to expel winds, are oils, as of camomile, rue, bays, etc.; fomentations of the hypochondries, with the decoctions of dill, pennyroyal, rue, bay-leaves, cummin, etc., bags of camomile-flowers, aniseed, cummin, bays, rue, wormwood, ointments of the oil of spikenard, wormwood, rue, etc. Aretæus [2] prescribes cataplasms of camomile flowers, fennel, aniseeds, cummin, rosemary, wormwood leaves, etc.

Cupping-glasses applied to the hypochondries, without scarification, do wonderfully resolve wind.[3] Fernelius, *consil.* 43, much approves of them at the lower end of the belly; Lod. Mercatus calls them a powerful remedy, and testifies moreover out of his own knowledge how many he hath seen suddenly eased by them.[4] Julius Cæsar Claudinus, *Respons. med. resp.* 33, admires these cupping-glasses, which he calls, out of Galen, "a kind of enchantment, they cause such present help." [5]

Empirics have a myriad of medicines, as to swallow a bullet of lead, etc., which I voluntarily omit. Amatus Lusitanus, *cent.* 4, *curat.* 54, for an hypochondriacal person that was extremely tormented with wind, prescribes a strange remedy. Put a pair of bellows' end into a clyster pipe, and applying it into the fundament, open the bowels, so draw forth the wind, *natura non admittit vacuum* [nature does not allow a vacuum]. He vaunts he was the first invented this remedy, and by means of it speedily eased a melancholy man. Of the cure of this flatuous melancholy, read more in Fienus, *de flatibus, cap.* 26, *et passim alias* [and elsewhere *passim*].

Against headache, vertigo, vapours which ascend forth of the stomach to molest the head, read Hercules de Saxonia and others.

If costiveness offend in this, or any other of the three species, it is to be corrected with suppositories, clysters, or lenitives, powder of senna, condite prunes, etc.

℞ *elect. lenit. e succo rosar. ana* ℥*j; misce.*

Take as much as a nutmeg at a time, half an hour before dinner or supper, or *pil. mastichin.* 3j, in six pills, a pill or two at a time. See more in Montanus, *consil.* 229, Hildesheim, *Spicil.* 2. P. Cnemander and Montanus commend "Cyprian turpentine, which they would have familiarly taken, to the quantity of a

small nut, two or three hours before dinner and supper, twice or thrice a week if need be; for, besides that it keeps the belly soluble, it clears the stomach, opens obstructions, cleanseth the liver, provokes urine." [1]

These in brief are the ordinary medicines which belong to the cure of melancholy, which, if they be used aright, no doubt may do much good. *Si non levando, saltem leniendo valent peculiaria bene selecta*, saith Bessardus; a good choice of particular receipts must needs ease, if not quite cure, not one, but all or most, as occasion serves. *Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant* [and where they do not help singly, they may together].

NOTES

Page 5

[1] Consil. 235, pro Abbate Italo.
[2] Consil. 23. Aut curabitur, aut certe minus afficietur, si volet.

Page 6

[1] Vide Renatum Morey, Animad. in Scholam Salernit. cap. 38. Si ad 40 annos possent producere vitam, cur non ad centum? si ad centum, cur non ad mille?
[2] Hist. Chinensium.
[3] Alii dubitant an dæmon possit morbos curare quos non fecit, alii negant, sed quotidiana experientia confirmat, magos magno multorum stupore morbos curare, singulas corporis parte citra impedimentum permeare, et mediis nobis ignotis curare.
[4] Agentia cum patientibus conjugunt.
[5] Cap. 11 de Servat.

Page 7

[1] Hæc alii rident, sed vereor ne, dum nolumus esse creduli, vitium non effugiamus incredulitatis.
[2] Refert Solomonem mentis morbos curasse, et dæmones abegisse ipsos carminibus, quod et coram Vespasiano fecit Eleazar.
[3] Spirituales morbi spiritualiter curari debent.
[4] Sigillum ex auro peculiari ad melancholiam, etc.
[5] Lib. 1 de occult. Philos. Nihil refert an Deus an diabolus, angeli an immundi spiritus ægro opem ferant, modo morbus curetur.
[6] Magus minister et vicarius Dei. [7][Ps. lxxxii, 6.]
[8] Utere forti imaginatione et experieris effectum, dicant in adversum quicquid volunt theologi.

Page 8

[1] Idem Plinius contendit quosdam esse morbos qui incantationibus solum curentur.
[2] Qui talibus credunt, aut ad eorum domos euntes, aut suis domibus introducunt, aut interrogant, sciant se fidem Christianam et baptismum prævaricasse, et apostatas esse.—Austin de superstit. observ. Hoc pacto a Deo deficitur ad diabolum.—P. Mart.
[3] Mori præstat quam superstitiose sanari. Disquis. mag. lib. 2, cap. 2, sect. 1, quæst. 1, tom. 3.
[4] P. Lombard. [5] Suffitus, gladiorum ictus, etc.
[6] The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them Ecclus. xxxviii, 4.

Page 9

[1] My son, fail not in thy sickness, but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole. Ecclus. xxxviii, 9.
[2] Huc omne principium, huc refer exitum.—Hor. carm. 3, od. 6.
[3] Music and fine fare can do no good.
[4] Hor. lib. 1, ep. 2.
[5] Sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus aureas undas agens eripiet unquam e miseriis.

[6] Scientia de Deo debet in medico infixa esse.—Mesue Arabs. Sanat omnes languores Deus. For you shall pray to your Lord, that he would prosper that which is given for ease, and then use physic for the prolonging of life.—Ecclus. xxxviii, 4.

Page 10

[1] Omnes optant quandam in medicina felicitatem, sed hanc non est quod expectent, nisi Deum vera fide invocent, atque ægros similiter ad ardentem vocationem excitent.

[2] Lemnius e Gregor. exhor. ad vitam opt. instit. cap. 48. Quicquid meditaris aggredi aut perficere. Deum in consilium adhibeto.

[3] Commentar. lib. 5. Ob infelicem pugnam contristatus, in ægritudinem incidit, ita ut a medicis curari non posset.

[4] In his animi malis princeps imprimis ad Deum precetur, et peccatis veniam exoret, inde ad medicinam, etc.

[5] Greg. Tholos. tom. 2, lib. 28, cap. 7, Syntax. In vestibulo templi Solomonis liber remediorum cujusque morbi fuit, quem revulsit Ezechias, quod populus, neglecto Deo nec invocato, sanitatem inde peteret.

[6] Livius, lib. 22. Strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam deorum invocantium opem.

Page 11

[1] Rulandus adjungit optimam orationem ad finem Empiricorum. Mercurialis, consil. 25, ita concludit. Montanus passim, etc., et plures alii, etc.

[2] Lipsius.

[3] Cap. 26.

Page 12

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 7, de Deo. Morbisque in genera descriptis deos reperimus.

[2] Selden, prolog. cap. 3, de diis Syris. Rosinus.

[3] See Lilii Giraldi syntagma de diis, etc.

[4] 12 Cal. Januarii ferias celebrant, ut angores et animi solicitudines propitiata depellat.

[5] Hanc divæ pennam consecravi.—Lipsius.

Page 13

[1] Jodocus Sincerus, Itin. Galliæ, 1617. Huc mente captos deducunt, et statis orationibus, sacrisque peractis, in illum lectum dormitum ponunt, etc.

[2] In Gallia Narbonensi.

[3] Lib. de orig. festorum. Collo suspensa et pergameno inscripta, cum signo crucis, etc.

[4] Em. Acosta, Com. rerum in Oriente gest. a societat. Jesu, anno 1568. Epist. Gonsalvi Fernandis, anno 1560, e Japonia.

[5] Spicil. de morbis dæmoniacis. Sic a sacrificulis parati unguentis magicis corpori illitis, ut stultæ plebeculæ persuadeant tales curari a Sancto Antonio.

[6] Printed at London, 4to by J. Roberts, 1605.

[7] Greg. lib. 8. Cujus fanum ægrotantium multitudine refertum undiquaque, et tabellis pendentibus, in quibus sanati languores erant inscripti.

Page 14

[1] Hor. lib. 1, od. 5.

[2] Mali angeli sumpserunt olim nomen Jovis, Junonis, Apollinis, etc., quos Gentiles deos credebant, nunc S. Sebastiani, Barbaræ, etc., nomen habent, et aliorum.

[3] Part. 2, cap. 9, de spect. Veneri substituunt Virginem Mariam.

[4] Ad hæc ludibria Deus connivet frequentur, ubi relicto verbo Dei, ad Satanam curritur, quales hi sunt, qui aquam lustralem, crucem, etc., lubricæ fidei hominibus offerunt.

[5] Carior est ipsis homo quam sibi.

[6] Bernard.

[7] Austin.

Page 15

[1] Ecclus. xxxviii. In the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.
[2] Tom. 4, tract. 3, de morbis amentium. Horum multi non nisi a magis curandi et astrologis, quoniam origo ejus a cœlis petenda est.
[3] Lib. de Podagra. [4] Sect. 5.
[5] Langius, J. Cæsar Claudinus, consult.

Page 16

[1] Prædestinatum ad hunc curandum.
[2] Helleborus curat, sed quod ab omni datus medico vanum est.
[3] Antid. gen. lib. 3, cap. 2.
[4] Quod sæpe evenit, lib. 3, cap. 1, cum non sit necessitas. Frustra fatigant remediis ægros, qui victus ratione curari possunt.—Heurnius.
[5] Modestus et sapiens medicus nunquam properabit ad pharmacum, nisi cogente necessitate. 41 Aphor. Prudens et pius medicus cibis prius medicinalibus quam medicinis puris morbum expellere satagat.
[6] Brev. 1, cap. 18.
[7] Similitudo sæpe bonis medicis imponit.
[8] Qui melancholicis præbent remedia non satis valida. Longiores morbi imprimis solertiam medici postulant et fidelitatem, qui enim tumultuario hos tractant, vires absque ullo commodo lædunt et frangunt, etc.

Page 17

[1] Naturæ remissionem dare oportet.
[2] Plerique hoc morbo medicina nihil profecisse visi sunt, et sibi demissi invaluerunt.
[3] Abderitani, ep. Hippoc.
[4] Quicquid auri apud nos est, libenter persolvemus, etiamsi tota urbs nostra aurum esset.

Page 18

[1] Seneca. [2] Pers. Sat. 3.
[3] De anima. Barbara tamen immanitate et deploranda inscitia contemnunt præcepta sanitatis, mortem et morbos ultro accersunt.
[4] Consul. 173, e Scoltzio, Melanch. Ægrorum hoc fere proprium est, ut graviora dicant esse symptomata, quam revera sunt.
[5] Melancholici plerumque medicis sunt molesti, ut alia aliis adjungant.

Page 19

[1] Oportet infirmo imprimere salutem, utcunque promittere, etsi ipse desperet. Nullum medicamentum efficax, nisi medicus etiam fuerit fortis imaginationis.
[2] De promisc. doct. cap. 15. Quoniam sanitatis formam animi medic continent.
[3] Spes et confidentia plus valent quam medicina.
[4] Felicior in medicina ob fidem ethnicorum.
[5] Aphoris. 89. Æger, qui plurimos consulit medicos, plerumque in errorem singulorum cadit.
[6] Nihil ita sanitatem impedit, ac remediorum crebra mutatio, nec venit vulnus ad cicatricem in quo diversa medicamenta tentantur.
[7] Melancholicorum proprium, quum ex eorum arbitrio non fit subita mutatio in melius, alterare medicos, qui quidvis, etc.
[8] Consil. 31. Dum ad varia se conferunt, nullo prosunt.
[9] Imprimis hoc statuere oportet, requiri perseverantiam, et tolerantiam. Exiguo enim tempore nihil ex, etc.
[10] Si curari vult, opus est pertinaci perseverantia, fideli obedientia, et patientia singulari; si tædet aut desperet, nullum habebit effectum.

[11] Ægritudine amittunt patientiam, et inde morbi incurabiles.
[12] Non ad mensem aut annum, sed oportet toto vitæ curriculo curationi operam dare.

Page 20

[1] Camerarius, Emb. 55, cent. 2.
[2] Præfat. de nar. med. In libellis quæ vulgo versantur apud literatos, incautiores multa legunt, a quibus decipiuntur, eximia illis, sed portentosum hauriunt venenum.
[3] Operari ex libris, absque cognitione et solerti ingenio, periculosum est. Unde monemur, quam insipidum scriptis auctoribus credere, quod hic suo didicit periculo.
[4] Consil. 23. Hæc omnia si quo ordine decet, egerit, vel curabitur, vel certe minus afficietur.

Page 21

[1] Fuchsius, cap. 2, lib. 1.
[2] In pract. med. Hæc affectio nostris temporibus frequentissima, ergo maxime pertinet ad nos hujus curationem intelligere.
[3] Si aliquis horum morborum summus sanatur, sanantur omnes inferiores.
[4] Instit. cap. 8, sect. 1. Victus nomine non tam cibus et potus, sed aer, exercitatio, somnus, vigilia, et reliquæ res sex non-naturales continentur.
[5] Sufficit plerumque regimen rerum sex non-naturalium.

Page 22

[1] Et in his potissima sanitas consistit.
[2] Nihil hic agendum sine exquisita vivendi ratione, etc.
[3] Si recens malum sit, ad pristinum habitum recuperandum, alia medela non est opus.
[4] Consil. 99, lib. 2. Si celsitudo tua, rectam victus rationem, etc.
[5] Moneo, Domine, ut sis prudens ad victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur.
[6] Omnia remedia irrita et vana sine his. Novistis me plerosque ita laborantes victu potius quam medicamentis curasse.
[7] Lib. 1 de finibus. Tarentinis et Siculis.
[8] Modo non multum elongentur.
[9] Lib. 1 de melan. cap. 7. Calidus et humidus cibus concoctu facilis, flatus exortes, elixi non assi, neque sibi frixi sint.
[10] Si interna tantum pulpa devoretur, non superficies torrida ab igne.
[11] Bene nutrientes cibi, tenella ætas multum valet, carnes non virosæ, nec pingues.
[12] Hodœpor. peregr. Hierosol.

Page 23

[1] Inimica stomacho. [2] Not fried or buttered, but potched.
[3] Consil. 16. Non improbatur butyrum et oleum, si tamen plus quam par sit, non profundatur: sacchari et mellis usus, utiliter ad ciborum condimenta comprobatur.
[4] Mercurialis consil. 88. Acerba omnia evitentur.
[5] Ovid. Met. lib. 15.

Page 24

[1] Peregr. Hier. [2] The Dukes of Venice were then permitted to marry. [3] De Legibus.
[4] Lib. 4, cap. 10. Magna urbis utilitas cum perennes fontes muris includuntur, quod si natura non præstat, effodiendi, etc. [6] De aquæduct.
[5] Opera gigantum dicit aliquis.
[7] Curtius Fons a quadragesimo lapide in urbem opere arcuato perductus. —Plin. 36, 15.
[8] Quæque domus Romæ fistulas habebat et canales, etc.

Page 25

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 20. Jod. à Meggen, cap. 15, pereg. Hier. Bellonius.
[2] Cypr. Echovius, Delic. Hisp. Aqua profluens inde in omnes fere domos ducitur, in puteis quoque æstivo tempore frigidissima conservatur.
[3] Sir Hugh Middleton, Baronet.
[4] De quæsitis med. cent. fol. 354.
[5] De piscibus lib. Habent omnes in lautitiis, modo non sint e cœnoso loco.
[6] De pisc. cap. 2, lib. 7. Plurimum præstat ad utilitatem et jucunditatem. Idem Trallianus lib. 1, cap. 16. Pisces petrosi, et molles carne.
[7] Etsi omnes putredini sunt obnoxii, ubi secundis mensis, incepto jam priore, devorentur, commodi succi prosunt, qui dulcedine sunt prædíti, ut dulcia cerasa, poma, etc.
[8] Lib. 2, cap. 1.
[9] Montanus, consil. 24.
[10] Pyra quæ grato sunt sapore, cocta mala, poma tosta, et saccharo vel anisi semine conspersa, utiliter statim a prandio vel a cœna sumi possunt, eo quod ventriculum roborent et vapores caput petentes reprimant.—Mont.

Page 26

[1] Punica mala aurantia commode permittuntur modo non sint austera et acida.
[2] Olera omnia præter boraginem, buglossum, intybum, feniculum, anisum, melissum vitari debent.
[3] Mercurialis, Pract. Med.
[4] Lib. 2 de com. Solus homo edit bibitque, etc.
[5] Consil. 21, 18. Si plus ingeratur quam par est, et ventriculus tolerare posset, nocet, et cruditates generat, etc.
[6] Observat. lib. 1. Assuescat bis in die cibos, sumere, certa semper hora.
[7] Ne plus ingerat cavendum quam ventriculus ferre potest, semperque surgat a mensa non satur.

Page 27

[1] Siquidem qui semimansum velociter ingerunt cibum, ventriculo laborem inferunt, et flatus maximos promovent.—Crato.
[2] Quidam maxime comedere nituntur, putantes ea ratione se vires refecturos; ignorantes, non ea quæ ingerunt posse vires reficere, sed quæ probe concoquunt.
[3] Multa appetunt, pauca digerunt.
[4] Saturnal. lib. 7, cap. 4.
[5] Modicus et temperatus cibus et carni et animæ utilis est.
[6] Hygiasticon, reg. 14. 16 unciæ per diem sufficiant, computato pane, carne ovis, vel aliis obsoniis, et totidem vel paulo plures unciæ potus.
[7] Idem, reg. 27. Plures in domibus suis brevi tempore pascentes extinguuntur, qui si triremibus vincti fuissent, aut gregario pane pasti, sani et incolumes in longam ætatem vitam prorogassent.
[8] Nihil deterius quam diversa nutrientia simul adjungere, et comedendi tempus prorogare.
[9] Lib. 1. hist.
[10] Hor. Od. lib. 1, ode ult.
[11] Ciborum varietate et copia in eadem mensa nihil nocentius homini ad salutem.—Fr. Valleriola, Observ. lib. 2, cap. 6.
[12] Tull. orat. pro M. Marcello.

Page 28

[1] Nullus cibum sumere debet, nisi stomachus sit vacuus. Gordon., lib. med. lib. 1, cap. 11.
[2] E multis eduliis unum elige, relictisque cæteris ex eo comede.
[3] Lib. de atra bile. Simplex sit cibus et non varius: quod licet dignitati tuæ ob convivas difficile videatur, etc.
[4] Celsitudo tua prandeat sola, absque apparatu aulico; contentus sit

illustrissimus princeps duobus tantum ferculis, vinoque Rhenano solum in mensa utatur.

[5] Semper intra satietatem a mensa recedat, uno ferculo contentus.

[6] Lib. de Hel. et Jejunio. Multo melius in terram vina fudisses.

[7] Crato. Multum refert non ignorare qui cibi priores, etc.; liquida præcedant carnium jura, pisces, fructus, etc.

[8] Cœna brevior sit prandio.

Page 29

[1] Tract. 6, contradict. 1, lib. 1.

[2] Super omnia quotidianum leporem habuit, et pomis indulsit.

[3] Annal. 6. Ridere solebat eos, qui post tricesimum ætatis annum, ad cognoscenda corpori suo noxia vel utilia, alicujus consilii indigerent.

[4] A Lessio edit. 1614.

[5] Ægyptii olim omnes morbos curabant vomitu et jejunio.—Bohemus, lib. 1, cap. 5.

[6] Cat. Major: Melior conditio senis viventis ex præscripto artis medicæ, quam adolescentis luxuriosi.

Page 30

[1] Debet per amœna exerceri, et loca viridia, excretis prius arte vel natura alvi excrementis.

[2] Hildesheim, Spicil. 2, de mel. Primum omnium operam dabis ut singulis diebus habeas beneficium ventris, semper cavendo ne alvus sit diutius astricta.

[3] Si non sponte, clysteribus purgetur.

[4] Balneorum usus dulcium, siquid aliud, ipsis opitulatur. Credo hæc dici cum aliqua jactantia, inquit Montanus, consil. 26.

Page 31

[1] In quibus jejunus diu sedeat eo tempore, ne sudorem excitent aut manifestum teporem, sed quadam refrigeratione humectent.

[2] Aqua non sit calida, sed tepida, ne sudor sequatur.

[3] Lotiones capitis ex lixivio, in quo herbas capitales coxerint.

[4] Cap. 8 de mel.

[5] Aut axungia pulli.—Piso.

[6] Thermæ Nympheæ.

[7] Sandys, lib. 1, saith that women go twice a week to the baths at least.

[8] Epist. 3.

[9] Nec alvum excernunt, quin aquam secum portent qua partes obscænas lavent.—Busbequius, ep. 3, Leg. Turciæ.

Page 32

[1] Hildesheim, Spicil. 2 de mel. hypochon. Si non adesset jecoris caliditas, thermas laudarem, et si non nimia humoris exsiccatio esset metuenda.

[2] Fol. 141.

[3] Thermas Luccenses adeat, ibique aquas ejus per 15 dies potet, et calidarum aquarum stillicidiis tum caput tum ventriculum de more subjiciat.

[4] In Panth.

[5] Aquæ Porrectanæ.

[6] Aquæ Aquariæ.

[7] Ad aquas Aponenses velut ad sacram anchoram confugiat.

[8] Joh. Bauhinus, lib. 3, cap. 14 Hist. admir. fontis Bollensis in ducat. Wittenberg., laudat aquas Bollenses ad melancholicos morbos, mærorem, fascinationem, aliaque animi pathemata.

[9] Balnea Chalderina.

[10] Hepar externe ungatur ne calefiat.

[11] Nocent calidis et siccis, cholericis, et omnibus morbis ex cholera, hepatis, splenisque affectionibus.

Page 33

[1] Lib. de aqua. Qui breve hoc vitæ curriculum cupiunt sani transigere, frigidis aquis sæpe lavare debent, nulli ætati cum sit incongrua, calidis imprimis utilis.

[2] Solvit Venus rationis vim impeditam, ingentes iras remittit, etc.

[3] Multi comitiales, melancholici, insani, hujus usu solo sanati.

[4] Si omittatur coitus, contristat, et plurimum gravat corpus et animum

[5] Nisi certo constet nimium semen aut sanguinem causam esse, aut amor præcesserit, aut, etc.

[6] Athletis, arthriticis, podagricis nocet, nec opportuna prodest, nisi fortibus et qui multo sanguine abundant. Idem Scaliger, exerc. 269. Turcis ideo luctatoribus prohibitum.

[7] De sanit. tuend. lib. 1.

[8] Lib. 1, cap. 7. Exhaurit enim spiritus animumque debilitat.

Page 34

[1] Frigidis et siccis corporibus inimicissima.

[2] Vesci intra satietatem, impigrum esse ad laborem, vitale semen conservare.

[3] Nequitia est quæ te non sinit esse senem.

[4] Vide Montanum, Pet. Godefridum, Amorum lib. 2, cap. 6. Curiosum de his, nam et numerum definite Talimudistis, unicuique sciatis assignari suum tempus, etc.

[5] Thespiadas genuit.

[6] Vide Lampridium, vit. ejus.

[7] Et lassata viris, etc.

[8] Vid. Mizald. cent. 8, 11, Lemnium, lib. 2, cap. 16, Catullum ad Ipsithillam, etc., Ovid. Eleg. lib. 3 et 6, etc. Quot itinera una nocte confecissent, tot coronas ludicro deo puta Triphallo, Marsiæ, Hermæ, Priapo donarent. Cingemus tibi mentulam coronis, etc.

[9] Pornoboscodid. Gasp. Barthii.

Page 35

[1] Nich. de Lynna, cited by Mercator in his Map.

[2] Mons Sloto. Some call it the highest hill in the world, next Teneriffe in the Canaries. Lat. 81.

[3] Cap. 26, in his Treatise of Magnetic Bodies.

[4] Lege lib. 1, cap. 23 et 24, de magnetica philosophia, et lib. 3, cap. 4.

[5] 1612.

[6] Mr. Briggs his map, and North-west Fox.

[7] Lib. 2, cap. 64, de nob. civitat. Quinsay, et cap. 10, de Cambalu.

Page 36

[1] Lib. 4 Exped. ad Sinas, cap. 3, et lib. 5, cap. 18.

[2] M. Polus in Asia Presb. Joh. meminit, lib. 2, cap. 30.

[3] Alluaresius et alii.

[4] Lat. 10 gr. Aust.

[5] Ferdinando de Quir., anno 1612.

[6] Alarum pennæ continent in longitudine 12 passus, elephantem in sublime tollere potest.—Polus, lib. 3, cap. 40.

[7] Lib. 2 Descript. Terræ Sanctæ.

[8] Natur. quæst. lib. 4, cap. 2.

[9] Lib. de reg. Congo.

[10] Exercit. 47.

[11] See Mr. Carpenter's Geography, lib. 2, cap. 6, et Bern. Telesius, lib de mari.

Page 37

[1] Exercit. 52, de maris motu causæ investigandæ: prima reciprocationis, secunda varietatis, tertia celeritatis, quarta cessationis, quinta privationis, sexta contrarietatis. [Moabar = Coromandel.]

[2] Patricius saith fifty-two miles in height.

[3] Lib. de explicatione locorum mathem. Aristot.

[6] Laet. lib. 17, cap. 18, descrip. occid. Ind.
[5] Luge [? Teyde] alii vocant.
[6] Geor. Wernerus. Aquæ tanta celeritate erumpunt et absorbentur, ut expedito equiti aditum intercludant.
[7] Boissardus de Magis, cap. de Pilapiis.

Page 38

[1] In campis Lovicen. solum visuntur in nive; et ubinam vere, æstate, autumno se occultant?—Hermes, Polit. lib. 1. Jul. Bellius.
[2] Statim ineunte vere silvæ strepunt eorum cantilenis.—Muscovit. comment.
[3] Immergunt se fluminibus lacubusque per hiemem totam, etc.
[4] Cæterasque volucres Pontum hieme adveniente e nostris regionibus Europæis transvolantes.
[5] Survey of Cornwall.
[6] Porro ciconiæ quonam e loco veniant, quo se conferant, incompertum adhuc; agmen venientium, descendentium, ut gruum venisse cernimus, nocturnis opinor temporibus. In patentibus Asiæ campis certo die congregant se, eam quæ novissime advenit lacerant, inde avolant.—Cosmog. lib. 4, cap. 126.

Page 39

[1] Comment. Muscov. [Agnus Scythicus, the rhizome of a fern, which is covered with silky hairs and bears a fanciful resemblance to a lamb.]
[2] Hist. Scot. lib. 1. [The barnacle goose was supposed to grow out of barnacles attached to pieces of timber, or on trees overhanging the water.]
[3] Vertomannus, lib. 5, cap. 16, mentioneth a tree that bears fruits to eat, wood to burn, bark to make ropes, wine and water to drink, oil and sugar, and leaves as tiles to cover houses, flowers, for clothes, etc.
[4] Animal insectum Cusino, ut quis legere vel scribere possit sine alterius ope luminis.
[5] Cosmog. lib. 1, cap. 435, et lib. 3, cap. 1. Habent ollas a natura formatas e terra extractas, similes illis a figulis factis, coronas, pisces, aves, et omnes animantium species.
[6] Ut solent hirundines et ranæ præ frigoris magnitudine mori, et postea redeunte vere 24 Aprilis reviviscere.
[7] Vid. Pererium in Gen. Cor. a Lapide, et alios.

Page 40

[1] In Necyomantia, tom. 2.
[2] [The Cave of Trophonius, an underground oracle at Lehadea in Bœotia].
[3] Fracastorius, lib. de simp.; Georgius Merula, lib. de mem.; Julius Billius, etc.
[4] Simlerus, Ortelius. Brachiis centum sub terra reperta est, in qua quadraginta octo cadavera inerant, anchoræ, etc.
[5] Pisces et conchæ in montibus reperiuntur.
[6] Lib. de locis mathemat. Aristot.
[7] Or plane as Patricius holds, which Austin, Lactantius, and some others held of old as round as a trencher.
[8] Lib. de Zilphis et Pygmæis. They penetrate the earth as we do the air.

Page 41

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 112.
[2] Commentar. ad annum 1537. Quicquid dicunt philosophi, quædam sunt Tartari ostia, et loca puniendis animis destinata, ut Hecla mons, etc., ubi mortuorum spiritus visuntur, etc. Voluit Deus extare talia loca, ut discant mortales.

[3] Ubi miserabiles ejulantium voces audiuntur, qui auditoribus horrorem incutiunt haud vulgarem, etc.

[4] Ex sepulchris apparent mense Martio, et rursus sub terram se abscondunt, etc.

PAGE 42

[1] Descript. Græc. lib. 6, de Pelop.

[2] Conclave Ignatii [an allusion to Donne's book, Ignatius his Conclave].

[3] Melius dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis, ubi flamma inferni, etc.

[4] See Dr. Rainolds, prælect. 55 in Apoc.

PAGE 43

[1] As they come from the sea, so they return to the sea again by secret passages, as in all likelihood the Caspian Sea vents itself into the Euxine or ocean.

[2] Seneca, Quæst. lib. capp. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, de causis aquarum perpetuis.

[3] In iis nec pullos hirundines excludunt, neque, etc.

[4] Th. Ravennas, lib. de vit. hom. prærog. cap. ult.

[5] At Quito in Peru plus auri quam terræ foditur in aurifodinis.

PAGE 44

[1] Ad Caput Bonæ Spei incolæ sunt nigerrimi. Si sol causa, cur non Hispani et Itali æque nigri, in eadem latitudine, æque distantes ab Æquatore, hi ad Austrum, illi ad Boream? qui sub Presbytero Johan. habitant subfusci sunt, in Zeilan et Malabar nigri, æque distantes ab Æquatore, eodemque cœli parallelo: sed hoc magis mirari quis possit, in tota America nusquam nigros inveniri, præter paucos in loco Quareno illis dicto: quæ hujus coloris causa efficiens, cœlive an terræ qualitas, an soli proprietas, aut ipsorum hominum innata ratio, aut omnia?—Ortelius in Africa, Theat.

[2] Regio quocunque anni tempore temperatissima.—Ortel. Multas Galliæ et Italiæ regiones, molli tepore, et benigna quadam temperie, prorsus antecellit.—Jovius.

[3] Lat. 45 Danubii.

[4] Quevira, lat. 40.

[5] In Sir Fra. Drake's voyage. [See Hakluyt, Everyman ed., vol. vi., pp. 240–5.]

[6] [Newfoundland].

[7] Lansius, Orat. contra Hungaros.

PAGE 45

[1] Lisbon, lat. 38.

[2] Dantzic, lat. 54.

[3] De nat. novi orbis, lib. 1, cap. 9. Suavissimus omnium locus, etc.

[4] The same variety of weather Lod. Guicciardine observes betwixt Liège and Aix not far distant (Descript. Belg.).

[5] Magin. Quadus.

[6] Hist. lib. 5.

PAGE 46

[1] Lib. 11, cap. 7.

[2] Lib. 2, cap. 9. Cur Potosi et Plata, urbes in tam tenui intervallo, utraque montosa, etc.

PAGE 47

[1] Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.

[2] Nav. lib. 1, cap. 5.

[3] Strabo.

[4] As under the Equator in many parts, showers here at such a time, winds at such a time, the brise they call it.

Page 48

[1] Ferd. Cortesius [Hernando Cortes], lib. Novus orbis inscript.
[2] Lapidatum est.—Livy.
[3] Cosmog. lib. 4, cap. 22. Hæ tempestatibus decidunt e nubibus æculentis, depascunturque more locustorum omnia virentia.
[4] Hort. Genial. An a terra sursum rapiuntur a solo iterumque cum pluviis præcipitantur? etc.
[5] Tam ominosus proventus in naturales causas referri vix potest.
[6] Cosmog. cap. 6.
[7] Cardan saith vapours rise 288 miles from the earth, Eratosthenes 48 miles.
[8] De subtil. lib. 2.
[9] In Progymnas.
[10] Præfat. ad Euclid. Catop.

Page 49

[1] Manucodiatæ, birds that live continually in the air, and are never seen on ground but dead: see Ulysses Aldrovand. Ornithol., Scal. Exerc. cap. 229.
[2] Laet. Descrip. Amer.
[3] Epist. lib. 1, p. 83. Ex quibus constat nec diversa aeris et ætheris diaphana esse, nec refractiones aliunde quam a crasso aere causari. Non dura aut impervia, sed liquida, subtilis, motuique planetarum facile cedens.
[4] In Progymn. lib. 2, exempl. quinque.
[5] In Theoria nova met. cœlestium, 1578.
[6] Epit. Astron. lib. 4.
[7] Multa sane hinc consequuntur absurda, et si nihil aliud, tot cometæ in æthere animadversi, qui nullius orbis ductum comitantur, id ipsum sufficienter refellunt.—Tycho, Astr. epist. pag. 107.

Page 50

[1] In Theoricis planetarum; three above the firmament, which all wise men reject.
[2] Theor. nova cœlest. meteor.
[3] Lib. de fabrica mundi.

Page 51

[1] Lib. de cometis.
[2] An sit crux et nubecula in cœlis ad Polum Antarcticum, quod ex Corsalio refert Patricius.
[3] Gilbertus Origanus.
[4] See this discussed in Sir Walter Raleigh's History, in Zanch. ad Casman.
[5] Vid. Fromundum de Meteoris, lib. 5, artic. 5, et Lansbergium.

Page 52

[1] Peculiari libello.
[2] Comment. in motum terræ, Middlebergi, 1630, 4.
[3] Peculiari libello.
[4] See Mr. Carpenter's Geogr. cap. 4, lib. 1, Campanella, et Origanus, præf. Ephemer., where Scripture places are answered.
[5] De Magnete.
[6] Comment. in 2 cap. Sphær. Jo. de Sacr. Bosc.
[7] Dist. 3 gr. 1 a Polo.

Page 53

[1] Præf. Ephem.
[2] Which may be full of planets, perhaps, to us unseen, as those about Jupiter, etc.
[3] Luna circumterrestris planeta quum sit, consentaneum est esse in Luna viventes creaturas, et singulis planetarum globis sui serviunt circulatores, ex qua consideratione de eorum incolis summa probabilitate concludimus, quod et Tychoni Braheo, e sola consideratione vastitatis eorum, visum fuit.—Kepl. Dissert. cum nun. sid. f. 29.

PAGE 54

[1] Temperare non possum quin ex inventis tuis hoc moneam, veri non absimile, non tam in Luna, sed etiam in Jove, et reliquis planetis incolas esse.—Kepl. fo. 26. Si non sint accolæ in Jovis globo, qui notent admirandam hanc varietatem oculis, cui bono quatuor illi planetæ Jovem circumcursitant?

[2] Some of those above Jupiter I have seen myself by the help of a glass eight feet long.

[3] Rerum Angl. lib. 1, cap. 27, de viridibus pueris. [Nubrigensis is William of Newburgh, the twelfth-century historian.]

[4] Infiniti alii mundi, vel, ut Brunus, terræ huic nostræ similes.

[5] Libro cont. philos. cap. 29.

PAGE 55

[1] Kepler, fol. 2 Dissert. Quid impedit quin credamus ex his initiis, plures alios mundos detegendos, vel (ut Democrito placuit) infinitos?

[2] Lege Somnium Kepleri, edit. 1635.

[3] Quid igitur inquies, si sint in cœlo plures globi, similes nostræ telluris, an cum illis certabimus, quis meliorem mundi plagam teneat? Si nobiliores illorum globi, nos non sumus creaturarum rationalium nobilissimi: quomodo igitur omnia propter hominem? quomodo nos domini operum Dei?—Kepler, fol. 29.

[4] Francofort. quarto, 1620; ibid. quarto, 1622.

[5] Præfat. in Comment. in Genesin. Modo suadent theologos, summa ignoratione versari, veras scientias admittere nolle, et tyrannidem exercere, ut eos falsis dogmatibus, superstitionibus, et religione Catholica detineant.

PAGE 56

[1] Theat. Biblico.

[2] His argumentis plane satisfecisti, do maculas in luna esse maria, do lucidas partes esse terram.—Kepler, fol. 16.

[3] Anno 1616.

PAGE 57

[1] In Hypothes. de mundo, edit. 1597.

[2] Lugduni, 1633.

[3] Jo. Fabricius de maculis in sole. Witenb. 1611.

[4] In Burboniis sideribus.

[5] Lib. de Burboniis sid. Stellæ sunt erraticæ, quæ propriis orbibus feruntur, non longe a sole dissitis, sed juxta solem.

[6] Braccini fol. 1630, lib. 4, cap. 52, 55, 59, etc.

PAGE 58

[1] Lugdun. Bat. an. 1612.

[2] Ne se subducant, et relicta statione decessum parent, ut curiositatis finem faciant.

[3] Hercules, tuam fidem! Satira Menip. edit. 1608.

[4] Sardi venales. Satira Menip. an. 1612.

[5] Puteani Comus sic incipit, or as Lipsius' Satire in a dream.

PAGE 59

[1] Trithemius, lib .de 7 secundis.

[2] They have fetched Trajanus' soul out of hell, and canonize for saints whom they list.

[3] In Minucius. Sine delectu tempestates tangunt loca sacra et profana, bonorum et malorum fata juxta, nullo ordine res fiunt; soluta legibus fortuna dominatur.

[4] Vel malus vel impotens, qui peccatum permittit, etc.; unde hæc superstitio?

[5] Quid fecit Deus ante mundum creatum? ubi vixit otiosus a suo subjecto, etc.

[6] Lib. 3 Recog. Pet. cap. 3. Peter answers by the simile of an egg-shell, which is cunningly made, yet of necessity to be broken; so is the world, etc., that the excellent state of heaven might be made manifest.

PAGE 60

[1] Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus.

[2] Exercit. 184.

[3] Laet. descrip. occid. Indiæ.

[4] Daniel, principio Historiæ.

PAGE 61

[1] Veniant ad me audituri quo esculento, quo item poculento uti debeant, et præter alimentum ipsum potumque, ventos ipsos docebo, item aeris ambientis temperiem, insuper regiones quas eligere, quas vitare ex usu sit.

[2] Leo Afer, Maginus, etc.

[3] Lib. 1 Scot. hist.

[4] Lib. 1 de rer. var.

[5] Horat.

[6] Maginus.

PAGE 62

[1] Haitonus de Tartaris.

[2] Cyropæd. lib. 8. Perpetuum inde ver.

[3] The air so clear, it never breeds the plague.

[4] Leander Albertus in Campania, e Plutarcho, vita Luculli. Cum Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero, multique nobiles viri L. Lucullum æstivo tempore convenissent, Pompeius inter cœnandum familiariter jocatus est, eam villam imprimis sibi sumptuosam et elegantem videri, fenestris, porticibus, etc.

[5] Godwin, vita Jo. Voysey, al. Harman.

[6] Descript. Brit.

[7] In Oxfordshire.

[8] Leander Albertus.

[9] Cap. 21 de vit. hom. prorog.

PAGE 63

[1] The possession of Robert Bradshaw, Esq. [Orton-on-the-Hill.]

[2] Of George Purefey, Esq.

[3] The possession of William Purefey, Esq. [Caulcutt.]

[4] The seat of Sir John Reppington, Kt.

[5] Sir Henry Goodier's, lately deceased.

[6] The dwelling-house of Hum. Adderly, Esq.

[7] Sir John Harpar's, lately deceased.

[8] Sir George Gresley's, Kt.

[9] Lib. 1, cap. 2.

[10] The seat of G. Purefey, Esq.

PAGE 64

[1] For I am now incumbent of that rectory, presented thereto by my right honourable patron the Lord Berkley.

[2] Sir Francis Willoughby.

[3] Montani et maritimi salubriores, acclives, et ad boream vergentes.

[4] The dwelling of Sir To. Burdet, Knight Baronet.

[5] [Now known as Mount Edgecombe.]

[6] In his Survey of Cornwall, book 2.

[7] Prope paludes, stagna, et loca concava, vel ad austrum, vel ad occidentem inclinatæ, domus sunt morbosæ.

[8] Oportet igitur ad sanitatem domus in altioribus ædificare, et ad speculationem.

[9] By John Bancroft, Dr. of Divinity, my quondam tutor in Christ Church, Oxon, now the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Oxon, who built this house for himself and his successors.

[10] Hieme erit vehementer frigida, et æstate non salubris: paludes enim faciunt crassum aerem, et difficiles morbos.
[11] Vendas quot assibus possis, et si nequeas, relinquas.
[12] Lib. 1, cap. 2. In Orco habitat.
[13] Aurora musis amica.—Vitruv.

Page 65

[1] Ædes orientem spectantes vir nobilissimus inhabitet, et curet ut sit aer clarus, lucidus, odoriferus. Eligat habitationem optimo aere jucundam.
[2] Quoniam angustiæ itinerum et altitudo tectorum, non perinde solis calorem admittit. [3] [Chester.]
[4] Consil. 21, lib. 2. Frigidus aer, nubilosus, densus, vitandus, æque ac venti septentrionales, etc.
[5] Consil. 24. [6] Fenestram non aperiat.

Page 66

[1] Discutit sol horrorem crassi spiritus, mentem exhilarat, non enim tam corpora, quam et animi mutationem inde subeunt, pro cœli et ventorum ratione, et sani aliter affecti sini cœlo nubilo, aliter sereno. De natura ventorum, see Pliny, lib. 2, cap. 26, 27, 28, Strabo, lib. 7, etc.
[2] Fynes Moryson, part. 1, cap. 4.
[3] Altomarus, cap. 7; Bruel. Aer sit lucidus, bene olens, humidus. Montaltus idem, cap. 26. Olfactus rerum suavium.—Laurentius, cap. 8.
[4] Ant. Philos., cap de melanc.
[5] Tract. 15, cap. 9. Ex redolentibus herbis et foliis vitis viniferæ, salicis, etc.
[6] Pavimentum aceto et aqua rosacea irrorare.—Laurent. cap. 8.

Page 67

[1] Lib. 1, cap. de morb. Afrorum. In Nigritarum regione tanta aeris temperies, ut siquis alibi morbosus eo advehatur, optimæ statim sanitati restituatur; quod multis accidisse, ipse meis oculis vidi.
[2] Lib. de peregrinat.
[3] Epist. 2, cen. 1. Nec quisquam tam lapis aut frutex, quem non titillat amœna illa variaque spectio locorum, urbium, gentium, etc.
[4] Epist. 86. [5] Lib. 2 de legibus.
[6] Lib. 45. [7] Keckerman, præfat. Polit.
[8] Fynes Moryson, cap. 3, part. 1.
[9] Mutatio de loco in locum, itinera, et voiagial onga et indeterminata, et hospitare in diversis diversoriis.

Page 68

[1] Modo ruri esse, modo in urbe, sæpius in agro venari, etc.
[2] [Barcelona] in Catalonia in Spain.
[3] Laudaturque domus longos quæ prospicit agros.
[4] Many towns there are of that name, saith Adricomius, all high-sited.
[5] Lately resigned for some special reasons.
[6] At Lindley in Leicestershire, the possession and dwelling-place of Ralph Burton, Esquire, my late deceased father.
[7] In Icon animorum.

Page 69

[1] Ægrotantes oves in alium locum transportandæ sunt, ut, alium aerem et aquam participantes, coalescant et corroborentur.
[2] Alia utilia, sed ex mutatione aeris potissimum curatus.
[3] Ne te dæmon otiosum inveniat.
[4] Præstat aliud agere quam nihil.

Page 70

[1] Lib. 1 de dictis Socratis. Qui tesseris et risui excitando vacant, aliquid faciunt, et si liceret his meliora agere.

[2] Amasis compelled every man once a year to tell how he lived.

[3] Nostra memoria Mahometes Othomannus qui Græciæ imperium subvertit, cum oratorum postulata audiret exterarum gentium, cochlearia lignea assidue cælabat, aut aliquid in tabula affingebat.

[4] Sandys, fol. 37 of his Voyage to Jerusalem.

[5] Perkins, Cases of Conscience, lib. 3, cap. 4, q. 3.

[6] Luscinius Grunnio.

Page 71

[1] Non est cura melior quam injungere iis necessaria, et opportuna; operum administratio illis magnum sanitatis incrementum, et quæ repleant animos eorum, et incutiant iis diversas cogitationes.—Cont. 1, tract. 9.

[2] Ante exercitium, leves toto corpore fricationes conveniunt. Ad hunc morbum exercitationes, quum recte et suo tempore fiunt, mirifice conducunt, et sanitatem tuentur, etc.—Crato.

[3] Lib. 1 de san. tuend.

[4] Exercitium naturæ dormientis stimulatio, membrorum solatium, morborum medela, fuga vitiorum, medicina languorum, destructio omnium malorum.

[5] Alimentis in ventriculo probe concoctis.

[6] Jejuno ventre, vesica et alvo ab excrementis purgato, fricatis membris, lotis manibus et oculis, etc.—Lib de atra bile.

[7] Quousque corpus universum intumescat, et floridum appareat, sudoreque, etc.

[8] Omnino sudorem vitent.—Valescus de Tar. cap. 7, lib. 1.

[9] Exercitium si excedat, valde periculosum.—Sallust. Salvianus, de remed. lib. 2, cap. 1.

Page 72

[1] Camden, in Staffordshire.

[2] Fridevallius, lib. 1, cap. 2. Optima omnium exercitationum; multi ab hac solummodo morbis liberati.

[3] Josephus Quercetanus, Dialect. polit. sect. 2, cap. 11. Inter omnia exercitia præstantiæ laudem meretur.

[4] Chiron in monte Pelio, præceptor heroum, eos a morbis animi venationibus et puris cibis tuebatur.—M. Tyrius.

[5] Nobilitas omnis fere urbes fastidit, castellis, et liberiore cœlo gaudet, generisque dignitatem una maxime venatione et falconum aucupiis tuetur.

[6] Jos. Scaliger, commen. in Cir. in fol. 344; Salmuth, 23 de nov. repert. com. in Pancir.

[7] Demetrius Constantinop. de re accipitraria liber, a P. Gillio Latine redditus; Ælius; Epist. Aquilæ, Symmachi, et Theodotionis ad Ptolemæum, etc.

[8] Lonicerus, Geffreus, Jovius.

Page 73

[1] Sir Antony Shirley's Relations. [2] Hakluyt.

[3] Coturnicum aucupio. [4] Fynes Moryson, part. 3, cap. 8.

[5] Non minorem voluptatem animo capiunt, quam qui feras insectantur, aut missis canibus, comprehendunt, quum, retia trahentes, squamosas pecudes in ripas adducunt.

[6] More piscatorum cruribus ocreatus.

[7] Si principibus venatio leporis non sit inhonesta, nescio quomodo piscatio cyprinorum videri debeat pudenda.

Page 74

[1] Omnino turpis piscatio, nullo studio digna, illiberalis credita est, quod nullum habet ingenium, nullam perspicaciam.
[2] Præcipua hinc Anglis gloria, crebræ victoriæ partæ.—Jovius.
[3] Cap. 7.
[4] Fracastorius.
[5] Ambulationes subdiales, quas hortenses auræ ministrant, sub fornice viridi, pampinis virentibus concameratæ.

Page 75

[1] Theophylact.
[2] Itinerar. Ital.
[3] Sedet ægrotus cæspite viridi, et cum inclementia canicularis terras excoquit, et siccat flumina, ipse securus sedet sub arborea fronde, et, ad doloris sui solatium, naribus suis gramineas redolet species; pascit oculos herbarum amœna viriditas, aures suavi modulamine demulcet pictarum concentus avium, etc. Deus bone, quanta pauperibus procuras solatia!
[4] Diod. Siculus, lib. 2.
[5] Lib. 13 de animal. cap. 13.
[6] Pet. Gillius; Paul Hentznerus, Itinerar. Italiæ, 1617; Jod. Sincerus, Itinerar. Galliæ, 1617; Simp. lib. 1, quest. 4.
[7] Jucundissima deambulatio juxta mare, et navigatio prope terram. In utraque fluminis ripa.
[8] Aurei panes, aurea obsonia, vis margaritarum aceto subacta, etc.

Page 76

[1] Lucan.
[2] 300 pellices, pocillatores, et pincernæ innumeri, pueri loti purpura induti, etc. ex omnium pulchritudine delecti.
[3] Ubi omnia cantu strepunt.
[4] Odyss. 4.
[5] Lucan, lib. 10.

Page 77

[1] Iliad 22.
[2] Between Ardres and Guines, 1519.
[3] [Bois-le-Duc, or 'S Hertogenbosch.]
[4] Swertius, in Deliciis, fol. 487. Veteri Horatiorum exemplo, virtute et successu admirabili, cæsis hostibus 17 in conspectu patriæ, etc.
[5] Paterculus, vol. post.
[6] Quos antea audivi, inquit, hodie vidi deos.

Page 78

[1] Pandectæ Triumph. fol.
[2] Lib. 6, cap. 14, de bello Jud.
[3] Procopius.
[4] Laet. lib. 10 Amer. descript.
[5] Romulus Amasæus, præfat. Pausan.
[6] Virg. Georg. 1.

Page 79

[1] Boterus, lib. 3 Polit. cap. 1.
[2] See Athenæus, Deipnosoph.
[3] Ludi votivi, sacri, ludicri, Megalenses, Cereales, Florales, Martiales, etc. —Rosinus, 5, 12.
[4] See Lipsius, Amphitheatrum; Rosinus, lib. 5; Meursius de ludis Græcorum.
[5] 1500 men at once, tigers, lions, elephants, horses, dogs, bears, etc.

Page 80

[1] Lib. ult. et lib. 1 ad finem. Consuetudine non minus laudabili quam veteri. Contubernia rhetorum, rhythmorum in urbibus et municipiis, certisque diebus exercebant se sagittarii, gladiatores, etc. Alia ingenii animique exercitia, quorum præcipuum studium, principem populum tragœdiis, comœdiis, fabulis scenicis, aliisque id genus ludis recreare.

[2] Orbis terræ descript. part 3.
[3] Lampridius. [4] Spartian.
[5] Delectatus lusis catulorum, porcellorum, ut perdices inter se pugnarent, aut ut aves parvulæ sursum et deorsum volitarent, his maxime delectatus, ut sollicitudines publicas sublevaret.

Page 81

[1] Brumales læte ut possint producere noctes. [2] Miles. 4.
[3] O dii! similibus sæpe conviviis date ut ipse videndo delectetur, et postmodum narrando delectet.—Theod. Prodromus, Amaranto dial. interpret. Gilberto Gaulmino.
[4] Epist. lib. 8, Ruffino. [5] Hor.
[6] Lib. 4. Gallicæ consuetudinis est ut viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum audierit aut cognorit de qua re quæruut.

Page 82

[1] Vitæ ejus, lib. ult. [2] Juven. [Persius.]
[3] They account them unlawful because sortilegious.
[4] Instit. cap. 44. In his ludis plerumque non ars aut peritia viget, sed fraus, fallacia, dolus, astutia, casus, fortuna, temeritas locum habent, non ratio, consilium, sapientia, etc.
[5] Abusus tam frequens hodie in Europa ut plerique crebro harum usu patrimonium profundant, exhaustisque facultatibus ad inopiam redigantur.
[6] Ubi semel prurigo ista animum occupat ægre discuti potest, sollicitantibus undique ejusdem farinæ hominibus, damnosas illas voluptates repetunt, quod et scortatoribus insitum, etc.

Page 83

[1] Instituitur ista exercitatio, non lucri sed valetudinis et oblectamenti ratione, et quo animus defatigatus respiret, novasque vires ad subeundos labores denuo concipiat.
[2] Latrunculorum ludus inventus est a duce, ut cum miles intolerabili fame laboraret, altero die edens, altero ludens, famis oblivisceretur.—Bellonius. See more of this game in Daniel Souter's Palamedes, vel de variis ludis, lib. 3.
[3] Dr. [Sir John] Hayward in vita ejus.
[4] Muscovit. commentarium.
[5] Inter cives Fessanos latrunculorum ludus est usitatissimus.—Lib. 3, de Africa.

Page 84

[1] Tullius. [2] [James the First's, in his *Book of Sports* (1618).]
[3] De mor. gent. [4] Polycrat. lib. 1, cap. 8.
[5] Idem Sarisburiensis. [6] Hist. lib. 1.

Page 85

[1] Nemo desidet otiosus, ita nemo asinino more ad seram noctem laborat; nam ea plusquam servilis ærumna, quæ opificum vita est, exceptis Utopiensibus, qui diem in 24 horas dividunt, sex duntaxat operi deputant, reliquum somno et cibo cujusque arbitrio permittitur.
[2] Rurum Burgund. lib. 4.

Page 86

[1] Jussit hominem deferri ad palatium et lecto ducali collocari, etc. Mirari homo ubi se eo loci videt.
[2] Quid interest, inquit Lodovicus Vives (epist. ad Francisc. Barbaran), inter diem illius et nostros aliquot annos? nihil penitus, nisi quod, etc.
[3] Hen. Stephan. præfat. Herodoti.

[4] Orat. 12. Siquis animo fuerit afflictus aut æger, nec somnum admittens, is mihi videtur e regione stans talis imaginis, oblivisci omnium posse, quæ humanæ vitæ atrocia et difficilia accidere solent.

Page 87

[1] 3 de anima. [2] Iliad 19. [3] Topogr. Rom. part. 1.

Page 88

[1] Quod heroum conviviis legi solitæ.
[2] Melancthon de Heliodoro.
[3] Pluvines. [4] Thibault.
[5] As in travelling the rest go forward and look before them, an antiquary alone looks round about him, seeing things past, etc., hath a complete horizon.—Janus Bifrons. [6] Cardan.

Page 89

[1] Hondius, præfat. Mercatoris. [2] Atlas Geog.
[3] [The Polish duke, Radzivilius.]

Page 90

[1] Cardan. [2] Lib. de cupid. divitiarum.
[3] Leon. Digges, præfat. ad Perpet. prognost.
[4] Plus capio voluptatis, etc. [5] In Hyperchen. divis. 3.
[6] Cardan, præfat. Rerum variet. [7] Poetices lib.
[8] Lib. 3, ode 9. Donec gratus eram tibi, etc.
[9] De Peloponnes. lib. 6 descript. Græc.
[10] Quos si integros haberemus, Dii boni, quas opes, quos thesauros teneremus!

Page 91

[1] Isaac Wake, Musæ Regnantes.
[2] Si unquam mihi in fatis sit, ut captivus ducar, si mihi daretur optio, hoc cuperem carcere concludi, his catenis illigari, cum hisce captivis concatenatis ætatem agere.
[3] Epist. Primerio. Plerumque in qua simul ac pedem posui, foribus pessulum abdo; ambitionem autem, amorem, libidinem, etc., excludo, quorum parens est ignavia, imperitia nutrix, et in ipso æternitatis gremio, inter tot illustres animas sedem mihi sumo, cum ingenti quidem animo, ut subinde magnatum me misereat, qui felicitatem hanc ignorant.

Page 92

[1] Chil. 2, cent. 1, adag. 1. [2] Virg. Eclog. 1.
[3] Founder of our public library in Oxon.
[4] Ours in Christ Church, Oxon.

Page 93

[1] Animus levatur inde a curis multa quiete et tranquillitate fruens.
[2] Ser. 38, ad Fratres Erem.
[3] Hom. 4, de pœnitentia. Nam neque arborum comæ pro pecorum tuguriis factæ, meridie per æstatem, optabilem exhibentes umbram oves ita reficiunt, ac Scripturarum lectio afflictas angore animas solatur et recreat.
[4] Otium sine literis mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura.—Seneca.
[5] Cap. 99, lib. 57, de rer. var.
[6] Fortem reddunt animum et constantem; et pium colloquium non permittit animum absurda cogitatione torqueri.

Page 94

[1] Altercationibus utantur, quæ non permittunt animum submergi profundis cogitationibus, de quibus otiose cogitat et tristatur in iis.
[2] Bodin. prefat. ad Meth. hist. [3] Operum subcis. cap. 15.
[4] [Lorenzo de' Medici.] [5] Hor.
[5] Fatendum est cacumine Olympi constitutus supra ventos et procellas, et omnes res humanas.
[7] In Ps. xxxvi. Omnis morbus animi in Scriptura habet medicinam; tantum opus est ut qui sit æger non recuset potionem quam Deus temperavit.
[8] In Moral. Speculum quo nos intueri possimus.
[9] Hom. 28. Ut incantatione viris fugatur, ita lectione malum.
[10] Iterum atque iterum moneo, ut animam sacræ scripturæ lectione occupes. Masticat divinum pabulum meditatio.

Page 95

[1] Ad 2 definit. 2 elem. In disciplinis humanis nihil præstantius reperitur: quippe miracula quædam numerorum eruit tam abstrusa et recondita, tanta nihilo minus facilitate et voluptate, ut, etc.
[2] Which contained 1,080,000 weights of brass.
[3] Vide Clavium in com. de Sacrobosco.
[4] Distantias cœlorum sola optica dijudicat.

Page 96

[1] Cap. 4 et 5.
[2] [Rosicrucians.

Page 97

[1] Printed at London, Anno 1620.
[2] Once Astronomy Reader at Gresham College.
[3] Printed at London by William Jones, 1623.
[4] Præfat. Meth. Astrol.
[5] [Palindromes, lines that read the same forwards and backwards.

Page 98

[1] [A celebrated enigmatical epitaph.]
[2] Tot tibi sunt dotes virgo, quot sidera cœlo.
[3] Da pie Christe, urbi bona; sit pax tempore nostro.
[4] Chalonerus, lib. 9 de Rep. Angl.
[5] Hortus coronarius, medicus, et culinarius, etc.

Page 99

[1] Tom. 1, de sanit. tuend. Qui rationem corporis non habent, sed cogunt mortalem immortali, terrestrem æthereæ æqualem præstare industriam. Cæterum ut camelo usu venit, quod ei bos prædixerat, cum eidem servirent domino et parte oneris levare illum camelus recusasset, paulo post et ipsius cutem, et totum onus cogeretur gestare (quod mortuo bove impletum), ita animo quoque contingit, dum defatigato corpori, etc.
[2] Ut pulchram illam et amabilem sanitatem præstemus.
[3] Interdicendæ vigiliæ, somni paulo longiores conciliandi.—Altomarus, cap. 7. Somnus supra modum prodest, quovismodo conciliandus.—Piso.
[4] Ovid.
[5] In Hippoc. Aphorism.

Page 100

[1] Crato, cons. 21, lib. 2. Duabus aut tribus horis post cœnam, quum jam cibus ad fundum ventriculi resederit, primum super latere dextro quiescendum, quod in tali decubitu jecur sub ventriculo quiescat, non

gravans sed cibum calefaciens, perinde ac ignis lebetem qui illi admovetur; post primum somnum quiescendum latere sinistro, etc.

[2] Sæpius accidit melancholicis, ut nimium exsiccato cerebro vigiliis attenuentur.—Ficinus, lib. 1, cap. 29.

[3] Ter.

[4] Ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi cœna brevis.

[5] Juven, Sat. 3.

[6] Hor. Ser. lib. 1, Sat. 5.

[7] Sepositis curis omnibus quantum fieri potest, una cum vestibus, etc.—Kirkst.

Page 101

[1] Ad horam somni aures suavibus cantibus et sonis delenire.

[2] Lectio jucunda, aut sermo, ad quem attentior animus convertitur, aut aqua ab alto in subjectam pelvim delabatur, etc.

[3] Ovid.

[4] Aceti sorbitio.

[5] Attenuat melancholiam, et ad conciliandum somnum juvat.

[6] Quod lieni acetum conveniat.

[7] Cont. 1, tract. 9. Meditandum de aceto.

[8] Sect. 5, memb. 1, subsect. 6.

[9] Lib. de sanit. tuenda.

[10] In Som. Scip. Fit enim fere ut cogitationes nostræ et sermones pariant aliquid in somno, quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet sæpissime vigilans solebat cogitare et loqui.

Page 102

[1] Aristeæ hist.

[2] Optimum de cœlestibus et honestis meditari, et ea facere.

[3] Lib. 3, de causis corr. art. Tam mira monstra quæstionum sæpe nascuntur inter eos, ut mirer eos interdum in somniis non terreri, aut de illis in tenebris audere verba facere, adeo res sunt monstrosæ.

[4] Icon. lib. 1.

[5] Sect. 5, memb. 1, subs. 6.

Page 103

[1] Animi perturbationes summe fugiendæ, metus potissimum et tristitia: eorumque loco animus demulcendus hilaritate, animi constantia, bona spe; removendi terrores, et eorum consortium quos non probant.

[2] Phantasiæ eorum placide subvertendæ, terrores ab animo removendi.

[3] Ab omni fixa cogitatione quovismodo avertantur.

[4] Cuncta mala corporis ab animo procedunt, quæ nisi curentur, corpus curari minime potest.—Charmides.

[5] Dissertat. An morbi graviores corporis an animi? Renoldo interpret. Ut parum absit a furore, rapitur a Lyceo in concionem, a concione ad mare. a mari in Siciliam, etc.

[6] Ira bilem movet, sanguinem adurit, vitales spiritus accendit, mœstitia universum corpus infrigidat, calorem innatum extinguit, appetitum destruit, concoctionem impedit, corpus exsiccat, intellectum pervertit. Quamobrem hæc omnia prorsus vitanda sunt, et pro virili fugienda.

[7] De mel. cap. 26. Ex illis solum remedium; multi ex visis, auditis, etc., sanati sunt.

Page 104

[1] Pro viribus annitendum in prædictis, tum in aliis, a quibus malum velut a primaria causa occasionem nactum est; imaginationes absurdæ falsæque et mœstitia quæcunque subierit propulsetur, aut aliud agendo, aut ratione persuadendo earum mutationem subito facere.

[2] Lib. 2, cap. 16, de occult. nat. Quisquis huic malo obnoxius est, acriter obsistat, et summa cura obluctetur, nec ullo modo foveat imaginationes tacite obrepentes animo, blandas ab initio et amabiles, sed quæ adeo convalescunt, ut nulla ratione excuti queant.

Page 105

[1] 3 Tusc.; Ad Apollonium. [2] Fracastorius.
[3] Epist. de secretis artis et naturæ, cap. 7, de retard. sen. Remedium esset contra corruptionem propriam, si quilibet exerceret regimen sanitatis, quod consistit in rebus sex non naturalibus.
[4] Pro aliquo vituperio non indigneris, nec pro amissione alicujus rei, pro morte alicujus, nec pro carcere, nec pro exilio, nec pro alia re, nec irascaris, nec timeas, nec doleas, sed cum summa præsentia hæc sustineas.
[5] Quodsi incommoda adversitatis infortunia hoc malum invexerint, his infractum animum opponas, Dei verbo ejusque fiducia te suffulcias, etc.—Lemnius, lib. 1, cap. 16.

Page 106

[1] Lib. 2 de ira.

Page 107

[1] Cap. 3 de affect. anim. Ut in civitatibus contumaces qui non cedunt politico imperio vi coercendi sunt; ita Deus nobis indidit alteram imperii formam; si cor non deponit vitiosum affectum, membra foras coercenda sunt, ne ruant in quod affectus impellat; et locomotiva, quæ herili imperio obtemperat, alteri resistat.
[2] Imaginatio impellit spiritus, et inde nervi moventur, etc., et obtemperant imaginationi et appetitui mirabili fœdere, ad exsequendum quod jubent. [3] Ovid. Trist. lib. 5.
[4] Participes inde calamitatis nostræ sunt, et velut exonerata in eos sarcina onere levamur.—Arist. Eth. lib. 9.
[5] Camerarius, Embl. 26, cent. 2. [6] Sympos. lib. 6, cap. 10.
[7] Epist. 8, lib. 3. Adversa fortuna habet in querelis levamentum; et malorum relatio, etc.
[8] Alloquium cari juvat, et solamen amici.

Page 108

[1] Emblem. 54, cent. 1.
[2] As David did to Jonathan, 1 Sam. xx.
[3] Seneca, Epist. 67.
[4] Hic in civitate magna et turba magna neminem reperire possumus quocum suspirare familiariter aut jocari libere possimus. Quare te expectamus, te desideramus, te arcessimus. Multa sunt enim quæ me sollicitant et angunt, quæ mihi videor, aures tuas nactus, unius ambulationis exhaurire sermone posse.
[5] Ovid. [6] De amicitia.
[7] De tranquil. cap. 7. Optimum est amicum fidelem nancisci in quem secreta nostra infundamus; nihil æque oblectat animum, quam ubi sint præparata pectora, in quæ tuto secreta descendant, quorum conscientia æque ac tua: quorum sermo solitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expediat, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectusque ipse delectet.

Page 109

[1] Comment. lib. 5. Ad Deum confugiamus, et peccatis veniam precemur, inde ad amicos, et cui plurimum tribuimus, nos patefaciamus totos, et animi vulnus quo affligimur: nihil ad reficiendum animum efficacius.
[2] Ep. Q. frat. [3] Aphor. prim. [4] Epist. 10.

Page 110

[1] Observando motus, gestus, manus, pedes, oculos, phantasiam.—Piso.
[2] Mulier melancholia correpta ex longa viri peregrinatione, et iracunde omnibus respondens, quum maritus domum reversus, præter spem, etc.

[3] Præ dolore moriturus, quum nunciatum esset uxorem peperisse filium subito recuperavit.

[4] Nisi affectus longo tempore infestaverit, tali artificio imaginationes curare oportet, præsertim ubi malum ab bis velut a primaria causa occasionem habuerit.

[5] Lib. 1, cap. 16. Si ex tristitia aut alio affectu cœperit, speciem considera, aut aliud quid eorum, quæ subitam alterationem facere possunt.

[6] Evitandi monstrifici aspectus, etc.

[7] Neque enim tam actio, aut recordatio rerum hujusmodi displicet, sed iis vel gestus alterius imaginationi adumbrare, vehementer molestum.—Galat. de mor. cap. 7.

[8] Tranquil. Præcipue vitentur tristes, et omnia deplorantes; tranquillitati inimicus est comes perturbatus, omnia gemens.

Page 111

[1] Illorum quoque hominum, a quorum consortio abhorrent, præsentia amovenda, nec sermonibus ingratis obtundendi; si quis insaniam ab insania sic curari æstimet, et proterve utitur, magis quam æger insanit.—Crato, consil. 184 Scoltzii.

[2] Molliter ac suaviter æger tractetur, nec ad ea adigatur quæ non curat.

[3] Ob suspiciones, curas, æmulationem, ambitionem, iras, etc., quas locus ille ministrat, et quæ fecissent melancholicum.

Page 112

[1] Nisi prius animum turbatissimum curasset; oculi sine capite, nec corpus sine anima curari potest.

[2] E Græco.

[3] Et nos non paucos sanavimus, animi motibus ad debitum revocatis.—Lib. 1 de sanit. tuend.

[4] Consol. ad Apollonium. Si quis sapienter et suo tempore adhibeat, remedia morbis diversis diversa sunt; dolentem sermo benignus sublevat.

Page 113

[1] Lib. 12 Epist.

[2] De nat. deorum. Consolatur afflictos, deducit perterritos a timore, cupiditates imprimis et iracundias comprimit.

[3] Heauton. Act. 1, scen. 1. Ne metue, ne verere, crede inquam mihi, aut consolando, aut consilio, aut re juvero.

[4] Novi fœneratorem avarum apud meos sic curatum, qui multam pecuniam amiserat.

[5] Lib. 1, consil. 12. Incredibile dictu quantum juvent.

[6] Nemo istiusmodi conditionis hominibus insultet, aut in illos sit severior, verum miseriæ potius indolescat, vicemque deploret.—Lib. 2, cap. 16.

Page 114

[1] Cap. 7. Idem Piso, Laurentius, cap. 8.

[2] Quod timet nihil est, ubi cogitur et videt.

[3] Una vice blandiantur, una vice iisdem terrorem incutiant.

[4] Si vero fuerit ex novo malo audito, vel ex animi accidente, aut de amissione mercium, aut morte amici, introducantur nova contraria his quæ ipsum ad gaudia moveant; de hoc semper niti debemus, etc.

[5] Lib. 3, cap. 14.

[6] Cap. 3. Castratio olim a veteribus usa in morbis desperatis, etc.

[7] Lib. 1, cap. 5. Sic morbum morbo, ut clavum clavo, retundimus, et malo nodo malum cuneum adhibemus. Novi ego qui ex subito hostium incursu et inopinato timore quartanam depulerat.

[8] Lib. 7, cap. 50. In acie pugnans febre quartana liberatus est.
[9] Jacchinus, cap. 15, in 9 Rhasis. Mont. cap. 26.
[10] Lib. 1, cap. 16. Aversantur eos qui eorum affectus rident, contemnunt. Si ranas et viperas comedisse se putant, concedere debemus, et spem de cura facere.
[11] Cap. 8 de mel.

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[1] Cistam posuit ex medicorum consilio prope eum, in quem alium se mortuum fingentem posuit; hic in cista jacens, etc.
[2] Serres, 1550.
[3] In 9 Rhasis. Magnam vim habet musica.
[4] Cap. de mania. Admiranda profecto res est, et digna expensione, quod sonorum concinnitas mentem emolliat, sistatque procellosas ipsius affectiones.
[5] Languens animus inde erigitur et reviviscit, nec tam aures afficit, sed et sonitu per arterias undique diffuso, spiritus tum vitales tum animales excitat, mentem reddens agilem, etc.
[6] Musica venustate sua mentes severiores capit, etc.
[7] Animos tristes subito exhilarat, nubilos vultus serenat, austeritatem reponit, jucunditatem exponit, barbariemque facit deponere gentes, mores instituit, iracundiam mitigat.

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[1] Cithara tristitiam jucundat, timidos furores attenuat, cruentam sævitiam blande reficit, languorem, etc.
[2] Pet. Aretine.
[3] Castilio, de aulic. lib. 1, fol. 27.
[4] Lib. de natali, cap. 12.
[5] Quod spiritus qui in corde agitant tremulum et subsaltantem recipiunt aerem in pectus, et inde excitantur, a spiritu musculi moventur, etc.
[6] Arbores radicibus avulsæ, etc.

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[1] Mr. Carew of Anthony, in Descript. Cornwall, saith of whales, that they will come and show themselves dancing at the sound of a trumpet (fol. 35, 1, et fol. 154, 2 book).
[2] De cervo, equo, cane, urso idem compertum; musica afficiuntur.
[3] Numen inest numeris.
[4] Sæpe graves morbos modulatum carmen abegit, Et desperatis conciliavit opem.
[5] Lib. 5, cap. 7. Mœrentibus mœrorem adimam, lætantem vero seipso reddam hilariorem, amantem calidiorem, religiosum divino numine correptum, et ad deos colendos paratiorem.
[6] Natalis Comes, Myth. lib. 4, cap. 12.
[7] Lib. 5 de rep. Curat musica furorem Sancti Viti.
[8] Exilire e convivio.—Cardan, Subtil. lib. 13.
[9] Iliad 1.
[10] Lib. 9, cap. 1. Psaltrias sambucistrasque, et convivalia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis, ex Asia invexit in urbem.

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[1] Comineus.
[2] Ista libenter et magna cum voluptate spectare soleo. Et scio te illecebris hisce captum iri et insuper tripudiaturum, haud dubie demulcebere.
[3] In musicis supra omnem fidem capior et oblector; choreas libentissime aspicio, pulchrarum feminarum venustate detineor, otiari inter has solutus curis possum.
[4] 2 de legibus.

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[1] Sympos. quæst. 5. Musica multos magis dementat quam vinum.
[2] Animi morbi vel a musica curantur vel inferuntur.
[3] Lib. 3 de anima. Lætitia purgat sanguinem, valetudinem conservat, colorem inducit florentem, nitidum, gratum.
[4] Spiritus temperat, calorem excitat, naturalem virtutem corroborat, juvenile corpus diu servat, vitam prorogat, ingenium acuit, et hominum negotiis quibuslibet aptiorem reddit.—Schola Salern.
[5] Dum contumelia vacant et festiva lenitate mordent, mediocres animi ægritudines sanari solent, etc.
[6] De mor. fol. 57. Amamus ideo eos qui sunt faceti et jucundi.
[7] Regim. sanit. part. 2. Nota quod amicus bonus et dilectus socius narrationibus suis jucundis superat omnem melodiam.
[8] Lib. 21, cap. 27.
[9] Comment. in 4 Odyss.
[10] Lib. 26, cap. 15.
[11] Homericum illud Nepenthes, quod mœrorem tollit, et euthymiam et hilaritatem parit.
[12] Plaut. Bacch.

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[1] De ægritud. capitis. Omni modo generet lætitiam in iis, de iis quæ audiuntur et videntur, aut odorantur, aut gustantur, aut quocunque modo sentiri possunt, et aspectu formarum multi decoris et ornatus, et negotiatione jucunda, et blandientibus ludis, et promissis distrahantur eorum animi, de re aliqua quam timent et dolent.
[2] Utantur venationibus, ludis, jocis, amicorum consortiis, quæ non sinunt animum turbari, vino et cantu et loci mutatione, et biberia, et gaudio, ex quibus præcipue delectantur.
[3] Piso. Ex fabulis et ludis quærenda delectatio. His versetur qui maxime grati sunt; cantus et chorea ad lætitiam prosunt.
[4] Præcipue valet ad expellendam melancholiam stare in cantibus, ludis, et sonis, et habitare cum familiaribus, et præcipue cum puellis jucundis.
[5] Par. 5 de avocamentis, lib. de absolvendo luctu.
[6] Corporum complexus, cantus, ludi, formæ, etc.
[7] Circa hortos Epicuri frequentes.
[8] Deipnosoph. lib. 10. Coronavit florido serto incendens odores, in culcita plumea collocavit, dulciculam potionem propinans, psaltriam adduxit, etc.
[9] Ut reclinata suaviter in lectum puella, etc.

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[1] Tom. 2, consult. 85.
[2] Epist. fam. lib. 7, 22 epist. Heri domum bene potus, seroque redieram.
[3] Valer. Max. cap. 8, lib. 8. Interposita arundine cruribus suis, cum filiis ludens, ab Alcibiade risus est.
[4] Hor.
[5] [Cosmo de' Medici.]
[6] Hominibus facetis et ludis puerilibus ultra modum deditus adeo ut si cui in eo tam gravitatem quam levitatem considerare liceret, duas personas distinctas in eo esse diceret.
[7] De nugis curial. lib. 1, cap. 4. Magistratus et viri graves, a ludis levioribus arcendi.

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[1] Machiavel, vita ejus. Ab amico reprehensus, quod præter dignitatem tripudiis operam daret, respondet, etc.
[2] There is a time for all things, to weep, laugh, mourn, dance.—Eccles. iii, 4.
[3] Hor.
[4] Sir John Harington, Epigr.
[5] Lucretia toto sis licet usque die, Thaida nocte volo.
[6] Lil. Giraldus, Hist. deor. syntag. 1.
[7] Lib. 3 de aur. asin.

[8] Eo quod risus esset laboris et modesti victus condimentum.
[9] Calcag. epig.
[10] Cap. 61. In deliciis habuit scurras et adulatores.

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[1] Universa gens supra mortales cæteros conviviorum studiosissima. Ea enim per varias et exquisitas dapes, interpositis musicis et joculatoribus, in multas sæpius horas extrahunt, ac subinde productis choreis et amoribus feminarum indulgent, etc.
[2] Syntag. de Musis.
[3] Athenæus, lib. 12 et 14. Assiduis mulierum vocibus cantuque symphoniæ palatium Persarum regis totum personabat.—Jovius, Hist. lib. 18.
[4] Eobanus Hessus. [5] Fracastorius.
[6] Vivite ergo læti, O amici, procul ab angustia, vivite læti.
[7] Iterum precor et obtestor, vivite læti: illud quod cor urit, negligite.
[8] Lætus in præsens animus quod ultra Oderit curare.—Hor. He was both sacerdos and medicus.

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[1] Hæc autem non tam ut sacerdos, amici, mando vobis, quam ut medicus; nam absque hac una tanquam medicinarum vita, medicinæ omnes ad vitam producendam adhibitæ moriuntur: vivite læti.
[2] Lœchæus, Anacreon. [3] Lucian. Necyomantia, tom. 2.
[4] Omnia mundana nugas æstima. Hoc solum tota vita persequere, ut præsentibus bene compositis, minime curiosus, aut ulla in re sollicitus, quam plurimum potes vitam hilarem traducas.
[5] Hildesheim, Spicil. 2 de mania, fol. 161. Studia literarum et animi perturbationes fugiat, et quantum potest jucunde vivat.
[6] Lib. de atra bile. Gravioribus curis ludos et facetias aliquando interpone, jocos, et quæ solent animum relaxare.
[7] Consil. 30. Mala valetudo aucta et contracta est tristitia, ac propterea exhilaratione animi removenda.
[8] Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 1.

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[1] Juven. Sat. 8. [2] Hor.
[3] Froissart, Hist. lib. 1. Hispani cum Anglorum vires ferre non possent, in fugam se dederunt, etc. Præcipites in fluvium se dederunt, ne in hostium manus venirent.
[4] Ter. [5] Hor.

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[1] Ἢ πίθι ἢ ἄπιθι. [Either drink or depart].
[2] Lib. de libris propriis. Hos libros scio multos spernere, nam felices his se non indigere putant, infelices ad solationem miseriæ non sufficere. Et tamen felicibus moderationem, dum inconstantiam humanæ felicitatis docent, præstant; infelices si omnia recte æstimare velint, felices reddere possunt.

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[1] Nullum medicamentum omnes sanare potest; sunt affectus animi qui prorsus sunt insanabiles; non tamen artis opus sperni debet, aut medicinæ, aut philosophiæ.
[2] [These are the crazy consolations of a foolish mind.]
[3] Sallust. Verba virtutem non addunt, nec imperatoris oratio facile timido fortem.
[4] Job, cap. 16. [5] Epist. 13, lib. 1.
[6] Hor. [7] Lib. 2, Essays, cap. 6.

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[1] Alium paupertas, alium orbitas, hunc morbi, illum timor, alium injuriæ, hunc insidiæ, illum uxor, filii distrahunt.—Cardan.

[2] Boethius, lib. 1, met. 5.

[3] Apuleius, 4 Florid. Nihil homini tam prospere datum divinitus, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis, in amplissima quaque lætitia subest quædam querimonia, conjugatione quadam mellis et fellis.

[4] Si omnes premantur, quis tu es qui solus evadere cupis ab ea lege quæ neminem præterit? cur te non mortalem factum et universi orbis regem fieri non doles?

[5] Puteanus, Ep. 75. Neque cuiquam præcipue dolendum eo quod accidit universis.

[6] Lorchan. Gallobelgicus, lib. 3, anno 1598, de Belgis. Euge! sed eheu! inquis, quid agemus? ubi pro epithalamio Bellonæ flagellum, pro musica harmonia terribilem lituorum et tubarum audias clangorem, pro tædis nuptialibus, villarum, pagorum, urbium videas incendia; ubi pro jubilo lamenta, pro risu fletus aerem complent.

[7] Ita est profecto, et quisquis hæc videre abnuis, huic sæculo parum aptus es, aut potius nostrorum omnium conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu læta tristibus, tristia lætis invicem succedunt.

[8] In Tusc. e vetere poeta.

[9] Cardan, lib. 1 de consol. Est consolationis genus non leve, quod a necessitate fit; sive feras, sive non feras, ferendum est tamen.

[10] Seneca.

[11] Omni dolori tempus est medicina; ipsum luctum extinguit, injurias delet, omnis mali oblivionem adfert.

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[1] Habet hoc quoque commodum omnis infelicitas, suaviorem vitam cum abierit relinquit.

[2] Virg. [3] Ovid.

[4] Lorchan. Sunt namque infera superis, humana terrenis longe disparia. Etenim beatæ mentes feruntur libere, et sine ullo impedimento, stellæ, æthereique orbes cursus et conversiones suas jam sæculis innumerabilibus constantissime conficiunt; verum homines magnis angustiis. Neque hac naturæ lege est quisquam mortalium solutus.

[5] Dionysius Halicar. lib. 8. Non enim unquam contigit, nec post homines natos invenies quemquam, cui omnia ex animi sententia successerint, ita ut nulla in re fortuna sit ei adversata.

[6] Vit. Gonsalvi, lib. ult. Ut ducibus fatale sit clarissimis a culpa sua, secus circumveniri cum malitia et invidia, imminutaque dignitate per contumeliam mori.

[7] In terris purum illum ætherem non invenies, et ventos serenos; nimbos potius, procellas, calumnias. Lips. Cent. misc. ep. 8.

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[1] Si omnes homines sua mala suasque curas in unum cumulum conferrent, æquis divisuri portionibus, etc.

[2] Hor. Ser. lib. 1.

[3] Quod unusquisque propria mala novit, aliorum nesciat, in causa est, ut se inter alios miserum putet. Cardan, lib. 3 de consol. Plutarch de consol. ad Apollonium.

[4] Quam multos putas qui se cœlo proximos putarent, totidem regulos, si de fortunæ tuæ reliquiis pars iis minima contingat.—Boeth. de consol. lib. 2, pros. 4.

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[1] Hesiod. Esto quod es; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse; Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis.
[2] Æsopi fab. [3] Seneca.
[4] Si dormirent semper omnes, nullus alio felicior esset.—Cardan.
[5] Seneca, de ira.
[6] Plato, Axiocho. An ignoras vitam hanc peregrinationem, etc., quam sapientes cum gaudio percurrunt.
[7] Sic expedit; medicus non dat quod patiens vult, sed quod ipse bonum scit.

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[1] Frumentum non egreditur nisi trituratum, etc.
[2] Non est pœna damnantis sed flagellum corrigentis.
[3] Ad hæreditatem æternam sic erudimur.
[4] Confess. 6.
[5] Nauclerum tempestas, athletam stadium, ducem pugna, magnanimum calamitas, Christianum vero tentatio probat et examinat.
[6] Sen. Herc. Fur.
[7] Ideo Deus asperum fecit iter, ne dum delectantur in via, obliviscantur eorum quæ sunt in patria.
[8] Boethius, lib. 5, met. 4.
[9] Boeth. pros. ult. Manet spectator cunctorum desuper præscius deus, bonis præmia, malis supplicia dispensans.
[10] Lib. de provid. Voluptatem capiunt dii siquando magnos viros colluctantes cum calamitate vident.

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[1] Ecce spectaculum Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus.
[2] 1 Pet. v, 7; Ps. lv, 22.
[3] Raro sub eodem lare honestas et forma habitant.
[4] Josephus Mussus, vita ejus.
[5] Homuncio brevis, macilentus, umbra hominis, etc. Ad stuporem ejus eruditionem et eloquentiam admirati sunt.

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[1] [Muley Hassan.] [2] Nox habet suas voluptates.
[3] Lib. 5, ad finem. Cæcus potest esse sapiens et beatus, etc.
[4] In Convivio, lib. 25. [5] Joachimus Camerarius, vit. ejus.
[6] Riber. vit. ejus. [7] Macrobius. [8] Sueton, cap. 7, 9.
[9] Lib. 1. Corpore exili et despecto, sed ingenio et prudentia longe ante se reges cæteros præveniens.
[10] Alexander Gaguinus, Hist. Polandiæ. Corpore parvus eram, cubito vix altior uno, Sed tamen in parvo corpore magnus eram.

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[1] Ovid. [2] Vir. Æneid. 10. [3] [See Deut. ii, 20.
[4] Lib. 2, cap. 20. Oneri est illis corporis moles, et spiritus minus vividi.
[5] Corpore breves prudentiores quum coarctata sit anima. Ingenio pollet cui vim natura negavit.
[6] Multis ad salutem animæ profuit corporis ægritudo.—Petrarch.
[7] Lib. 7. Summa est totius philosophiæ, si tales, etc.

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[1] Plinius, Epist. lib. 7. Quem infirmum libido sollicitat, aut avaritia, aut honores? nemini invidet, neminem miratur, neminem despicit. sermone maligno non alitur. [The letter (ep. 26), is addressed to Maximus, not Rufus.

[2] Non terret princeps, magister, parens, judex; at ægritudo superveniens omnia correxit.
[3] Nat. Chytræus, Europ. deliciis. Labor, dolor, ægritudo, luctus, servire superbis dominis, jugum ferre superstitionis, quos habet caros sepelire, etc., condimenta vitæ sunt.
[4] Non tam mari quam prœlio virtus, etiam lecto exhibetur: vincetur aut vincet; aut tu febrem relinques, aut ipsa te.—Seneca.
[5] [Wilibald Pirckheimer.]
[6] Tullius [de fin. 2, 30]. Vesicæ morbo laborans, et urinæ mittendæ difficultate tanta, ut vix incrementum caperet; repellebat hæc omnia animi gaudium ob memoriam inventorum.
[7] Boeth. lib. 2, pr. 4. Huic sensus exuberat, sed est pudori degener sanguis.

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[1] Gaspar Ens, Polit. thes.
[2] Alii pro pecunia emunt nobilitatem, alii illam lenocinio, alii veneficiis, alii parricidiis; multis perditio nobilitate conciliat, plerique adulatione, detractione, calumniis, etc.—Agrip. de vanit. scien.
[3] Ex homicidio sæpe orta nobilitas et strenua carnificina.
[4] Plures ob prostitutas filias, uxores, nobiles facti; multos venationes, rapinæ, cædes, præstigia, etc. [5] Sat. Menip.

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[1] Cum enim hos dici nobiles videmus, qui divitiis abundant, divitiæ vero raro virtutis sunt comites, quis non videt ortum nobilitatis degenerem? hunc usuræ ditarunt, illum spolia, proditiones; hic veneficiis ditatus, ille adulationibus, huic adulteria lucrum præbent, nonullis mendacia, quidam ex conjuge quæstum faciunt, plerique ex natis, etc.—Florent. Hist. lib. 3.
[2] Juven.
[3] Robusta improbitas a tyrannide incepta, etc.
[4] Gaspar Ens, Thesauro polit.
[5] Gresserus, Itinerar. fol. 266. [6] Hor.
[7] Syl. nup. lib. 4, num. 111. [8] Exod. xxxii.

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[1] Omnium nobilium sufficientia in eo probatur si venatica noverint, si aleam, si corporis vires ingentibus poculis commonstrent, si naturæ robur numerosa venere probent, etc.
[2] Difficile est, ut non sit superbus dives.—Austin, ser. 24.
[3] Nobilitas nihil aliud nisi improbitas, furor, rapina, latrocinium, homicidium, luxus, venatio, violentia, etc.
[4] The fool took away my lord in the mask, 'twas apposite.
[5] De miser. curial. Miseri sunt, inepti sunt, turpes sunt, multi ut parietes ædium suarum speciosi.
[6] Miraris aureas vestes, equos, canes, ordinem famulorum, lautas mensas, ædes, villas, prædia, piscinas, silvas, etc., hæc omnia stultus assequi potest. Pandarus noster lenocinio nobilitatus est.—Æneas Sylvius.
[7] Bellonius, Observ. lib. 2.

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[1] Mat. Riccius, lib. 1, cap. 3. Ad regendam remp. soli doctores aut licentiati adsciscuntur, etc.
[2] Lib. 1 Hist. Conditione servus, cæterum acer bello, et animi magnitudine maximorum regum nemini secundus: ob hæc a Mameluchis in regem electus.

[3] Olaus Magnus, lib. 18. Saxo Grammaticus. A quo rex Sueno et cætera Danorum regum stemmata.
[4] Seneca, de Contro. Philos. epist.
[5] Corpore sunt et animo fortiores spurii, plerumque ob amoris vehementiam, seminis crass., etc.

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[1] Vita Castruccii. Nec præter rationem mirum videri debet, si quis rem considerare velit, omnes eos vel saltem maximam partem, qui in hoc terrarum orbe res præstantiores aggressi sunt, atque inter cæteros ævi sui heroas excelluerunt, aut obscuro aut abjecto loco editos, et prognatos fuisse abjectis parentibus. Eorum ego catalogum infinitum recensere possem.
[2] Exercit. 265.
[3] Flor. Hist. lib. 3. Quod si nudos nos conspici contingat, omnium una eademque erit facies; nam si ipsi nostras, nos eorum vestes induamus, nos, etc.
[4] Ut merito dicam, quod simpliciter sentiam, Paulum Schalichium scriptorem, et doctorem, pluris facio quam comitem Hunnorum, et Baronem Skradinum. Encyclopædiam tuam et orbem disciplinarum omnibus provinciis antefero.—Balæus, Epist. nuncupat. ad 5 cent. ultimam script. Brit.
[5] Præfat Hist. lib. 1. Virtute tua major, quam aut Etrusci imperii fortuna, aut numerosa et decora prolis felicitate beatior evadis.
[6] Curtius.
[7] Bodine, de rep. lib. 3, cap. 8.

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[1] Æneas Sylvius, lib. 2, cap. 29.
[2] If children be proud, haughty, foolish, they defile the nobility of their kindred.—Eccl. xxii, 8.
[3] Cujus possessio nec furto eripi, nec incendio absumi, nec aquarum voragine absorberi, vel vi morbi destrui potest.
[4] Send them both to some strange place naked, ad ignotos, as Aristippus said, you shall see the difference. Bacon's Essays.
[5] Familiæ splendor nihil opis attulit, etc.
[6] Fluvius hic illustris, humanarum rerum imago, quæ parvis ductæ sub initiis, in immensum crescunt, et subito evanescunt. Exilis hic primo fluvius, in admirandam magnitudinem excrescit, tandemque in mari Euxino evanescit.—J. Stuckius, Pereg. mar. Euxini.

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[1] Sabinus, in 6 Ovid. Met. fab. 4.
[2] Lib. 1, de 4 complexionibus.
[3] Hor. Epod. 4.
[4] Lib. 2, ep. 15. Natus sordido turguriolo et paupere domo, qui vix milio rugientem ventrem, etc.

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[1] Nihil fortunato insipiente intolerabilius.
[2] Claud. lib. 1, in Eutrop.
[3] Lib. 1 de Rep. Gal. Quoniam et commodiore utuntur conditione, et honestiore loco nati, jam inde a parvulis ad morum civilitatem educati sunt, et assuefacti.

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[1] Nullum paupertate gravius onus.
[2] Ne quis iræ divinæ judicium putaret, aut paupertas exosa foret.—Gualt. in cap. 2, ver. 18 Lucæ.

[3] Inter proceres Thebanos numeratus, lectum habuit genus, frequens famulitium, domus amplas, etc.—Apuleius, Florid. lib. 4.

[4] P. Blesensis, ep. 72 et 232. Oblatos respui honores, ex onere metiens motus ambitiosos; rogatus non ivi, etc.

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[1] Sudat pauper foras in opere, dives in cogitatione; hic os aperit oscitatione, ille ructatione; gravius ille fastidio, quam hic inedia cruciatur.—Ber. ser.

[2] In Hyperchen. Natura æqua est, puerosque videmus mendicorum nulla ex parte regum filiis dissimiles, plerumque saniores.

[3] Gallo, tom. 2.

[4] Et e contubernio fœdi atque olidi ventris mors tandem educit.—Seneca, ep. 103.

[5] Divitiarum sequela, luxus, intemperies, arrogantia, superbia, furor injustus, omnisque irrationibilis motus.

[6] Juven. Sat. 6. Saturn. Epist.

[8] Vos quidem divites putatis felices, sed nescitis eorum miserias.

[9] Et quota pars hæc eorum quæ istos discruciant? si nossetis metus et curas, quibus obnoxii sunt, plane fugiendas vobis divitias existimaretis.

[10] Seneca in Herc. Œtæo.

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[1] Et diis similes stulta cogitatio facit.

[2] Flamma simul libidinis ingreditur; ita, furor et superbia, divitiarum sequela.—Chrys.

[3] Omnium oculis, odio, insidiis expositus, semper sollicitus, fortunæ udibrium.

[4] Hor. lib. 2, Od. 10.

[5] Quid me felicem toties jactastis amici? Qui cecidit, stabili non fuit ille loco.—Boeth.

[6] Ut postquam impinguati fuerint, devorentur. [7] Hor.

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[1] Cap. 6 de curat. Græc. affect. cap. de providentia. Quotiescunque divitiis affluentem hominem vi lemus, eumque pessimum, ne quæso hunc beatissimum putemus, sed infelicem censeamus, etc.

[2] Hor. lib. 4, Od. 9. [3] Hor. lib. 2.

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[1] Florid. lib. 4. Dives ille cibo interdicitur, et in omni copia sua cibum non accipit, cum interea totum ejus servitium hilare sit, atque epuletur.

[2] Epist. 115.

[3] Hor Et mihi curto Ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum.

[4] Brisonius.

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[1] Si modum excesseris, suavissima sunt molesta.

[2] Et in cupidiis gulæ, coquus et pueri illotis manibus ab exoneratione ventris omnia tractant, etc.—Cardan, lib. 8, cap. 46, de rerum varietate.

[3] Epist.

[4] Plin. lib. 57, cap. 6. [5] Zonaras, Annal. 3.

[6] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [7] Hor. Ser. lib. 1, Sat. 2.

[8] Cap. 30. Nullam vestem bis induit.

Page 151

[1] Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci Descendunt reges, et sicca morte tyranni.

[2] "God shall deliver his soul from the power of the grave."—Ps. xlix, 15.

[3] Contempl. Idiot. cap. 37. Divitiarum acquisitio magni laboris. possessio magni timoris, amissio magni doloris.

[4] Boethius de consol. phil. lib. 3.

Page 152

[1] Austin in Ps. lxxvi. Omnis philosophiæ magistra, ad cœlum via.

[2] Bonæ mentis soror paupertas.

[3] Pædagoga pietatis sobria, pia mater, cultu simplex, habitu secura, consilio benesuada.—Apul.

[4] Cardan. Opprobrium non est paupertas: quod latro eripit, aut pater non reliquit, cur mihi vitio daretur, si fortuna divitias invidit? non aquilæ, non, etc.

[5] Tully.

[6] Epist. 74. Servus, summe homo; servus sum, immo contubernalis, servus sum, at humilis amicus, immo conservus si cogitaveris.

[7] Epist. 66 et 90.

Page 153

[1] Panormitan, rebus gestis Alph.

[2] Lib. 4, num. 218. Quidam deprehensus quod sederet loco nobilium, mea nobilitas, ait, est circa caput, vestra declinat ad caudam.

[3] Tanto beatior es, quanto collectior.

[4] Non amoribus inservit, non appetit honores, et qualitercunque relictus satis habet, hominem se esse meminit, invidet nemini, neminem despicit, neminem miratur, sermonibus malignis non attendit aut alitur.—Plinius.

[5] Politianus, in Rustico.

[6] Gyges regno Lydiæ inflatus sciscitatum misit Apollinem an quis mortalium se felicior esset. Aglaium Arcadum pauperrimum Apollo prætulit, qui terminos agri sui nunquam excesserat, rure suo contentus.—Val. lib. 1, cap. 7.

Page 154

[1] Hor. Hæc est Vita solutorum misera ambitione, gravique.

[2] Amos vi.

[3] Præfat. lib. 7. Odit naturam quod infra deos sit; irascitur diis quod quis illi antecedat.

[4] De ira, cap. 31, lib. 3. Et si multum acceperit, injuriam putat plura non accepisse; non agit pro tribunatu gratias, sed queritur quod non sit ad præturam perductus; neque hæc grata, si desit consulatus.

[5] Lips. admir.

[6] Of some 90,000 inhabitants now.

Page 155

[1] Read the story at large in John Fox, his Acts and Monuments.

[2] Hor. Sat. 2, Ser. lib. 2.

[3] 5 Florent. Hist. Virtus quietem parat, quies otium, otium porro luxum generat, luxus interitum, a quo iterum ad saluberrimas, etc.

Page 156

[1] Guicciard. in Hiponest. Nulla infelicitas subjectum esse legi naturæ, etc.

[2] Persius.

Page 157

[1] Omnes divites qui cœlo et terra frui possunt.

[2] Hor. lib. 1, epist. 12.

[3] Seneca, epist. 15. Panem et aquam natura desiderat, et hæc qui

habet, ipso cum Jove de felicitate contendat. Cibus simplex famem sedat, vestis tenuis frigus arcet.—Senec. epist. 8.

[4] Boethius. [5] Muffæus et alii.

[6] Brisonius. [7] Ps. civ, 15.

[8] Si recte philosophemini, quicquid aptam moderationem supergreditur, oneri potius quam usui est. [Madaurensis = Apuleius, a native of Madaura.]

[9] Lib. 7, 16. Cereris munus et aquæ poculum mortales quærunt habere, et quorum saties nunquam est; luxus autem, sunt cætera, non epulæ.

[10] Satis est dives qui pane non indiget; nimium potens qui servire non cogitur. Ambitiosa non est fames, etc.

[11] Euripides, Menalip. O fili, mediocres divitiæ hominibus conveniunt, nimia vero moles perniciosa.

Page 158

[1] Hor. [2] O noctes cœnæ ue deum.

[3] Per mille fraudes doctosque dolos ejicitur, apud sociam paupertatem ejusque cultores divertens in eorum sinu et tutela deliciatur.

[4] Lucan. [5] Lips. Miscell. ep. 40.

[6] Sat. 6, lib. 2. [7] Hor. Sat. 4. [8] Apuleius.

Page 159

[1] Chytræus, in Europæ deliciis. Accipite, cives Veneti, quod est optimum in rebus humanis, res humanas contemnere.

[2] Vah, vivere etiam nunc lubet, as Demea said, Adelph. Act. 3. Quam multis non egeo, quam multa non desidero, ut Socrates in pompa, ille in nundinis.

[3] Epictetus, cap. 77. Quo sum destinatus, et sequar alacriter.

[4] Puteanus, Ep. 62. [5] Marullus.

[6] Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita parvus, Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons, et paulum silvæ, etc.—Hor. Sat. 6, lib. 2 Ser.

[7] Hieronym.

[8] Seneca, Consil. ad Albinum, cap. 11. Qui continet se intra naturæ limites, paupertatem non sentit; qui excedit, eum in opibus paupertas sequitur.

Page 160

[1] Hom. 12. Pro his quæ accepisti gratias age, noli indignare pro his quæ non accepisti.

[2] Nat. Chytræus, Deliciis Europ. Gustonii in ædibus Hubianis in cœnaculo e regione mensæ.

[3] Quid non habet melius pauper quam dives? vitam, valetudinem, cibum, somnum, libertatem, etc.—Cardan.

[4] Martial. lib. 10, epig. 47. Read it out thyself in the author.

[5] Confess. lib. 6. Transiens per vicum quendam Mediolanensem, animadverti pauperem quendam mendicum, jam credo saturum, jocantem atque ridentem, et ingemui et locutus sum cum amicis qui mecum erant, etc.

[6] Et certe ille lætabatur, ego anxius; securus ille, ego trepidus. Et si percontaretur me quispiam an exultare mallem, an metuere, responderem, exultare: et si rursus interrogaret an ego talis essem, an qualis nunc sum, me ipsis curis confectum eligerem; sed perversitate, non veritate.

Page 161

[1] Hor. [2] Hor. Ep. lib. 1.

[3] O si nunc morerer, inquit, quanta et qualia mihi imperfecta manerent: sed si mensibus decem vel octo super vixero, omnia redigam ad libellum, ab omni debito creditoque me explicabo; prætereunt interim menses decem et octo et cum illis anni, et adhuc restant plura quam prius; quid

igitur speras, O insane, finem quem rebus tuis non inveneras in juventa, in senecta impositurum? O dementiam, uum ob curas et negotia tuo judicio sis infelix, quid putas futurum quum plura supererint?—Cardan, lib. 8, cap. 40, de rer. var.

[4] Plutarch.

Page 162

[1] Lib. de natali, cap. 1.

[2] Apud Stobæum, ser. 17.

[3] Hom. 12, in 2 Cor. vi.

[4] Non in paupertate, sed in paupere (Senec.), non re, sed opinione labores.

Page 163

[1] Vopiscus, Aureliano. Sed si populus famelicus inedia laboret, nec arma, leges, pudor, magistratus, coercere valent.

[2] One of the richest men in Rome.

[3] Serm. Quidam sunt qui pauperes esse volunt ita ut nihil illis desit; sic commendant ut nullam patiantur inopiam; sunt et alii mites, quamdiu dicitur et agitur ad eorum arbitrium, etc.

[4] Nemo paupertatem commendaret nisi pauper.

[5] Petronius, Catalec.

[6] Ovid.

[7] Ovid.

[8] Plutarch. vit. Crassi.

Page 164

[1] Lucan, lib. 9.

[2] An quum super fimo sedit Job, an eum omnia abstulit diabolus, etc., pecuniis privatus fiduciam Deo habuit, omni thesauro pretiosiorem.

[3] Hæc videntes sponte philosophemini, nec insipientum affectibus agitemur.

[4] 1 Sam. i, 8.

[5] James i, 2. "My brethren, count it an exceeding joy, when you fall into divers temptations."

Page 165

[1] Afflictio dat intellectum. Quos Deus diligit, castigat. Deus optimum quemque aut mala valetudine aut luctu afficit.—Seneca.

[2] Quam sordet mihi terra quum cœlum intueor.

[3] Senec. de providentia, cap. 2. Diis ita visum, dii melius norunt quid sit in commodum meum.

[4] Hom. Iliad 4.

[5] Hom. 9. Voluit urbem tyrannus evertere, et Deus non prohibuit; voluit captivos ducere, non impedivit; voluit ligare, concessit, etc.

[6] Ps. cxliii. De terra inopem, de stercore erigit pauperem.

[7] Micah vii, 7.

[8] Preme, preme, ego cum Pindaro, ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι φέλλος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἕρκος ἅλμας, immersibilis sum sicut suber super maris septum.—Lipsius.

[9] Hic ure, hic seca, ut in æternum parcas.—Austin. Diis fruitur iratis, superat et crescit malis. Mucium ignis, Fabricium paupertas, Regulum tormenta, Socratem venenum superare non potuit.

[10] Hor. Epist. 16, lib. 1.

Page 166

[1] Hom. 5. Auferet pecunias? at habet in cœlis: patria dejiciet? at in cœlestem civitatem mittet: vincula injiciet? at habet solutam conscientiam: corpus interficiet, at iterum resurget; cum umbra pugnat qui cum justo pugnat.

[2] Leonides.

[3] Modo in pressura, in tentationibus, erit postea bonum tuum requies, æternitas, immortalitas.

[4] Dabit Deus his quoque finem.

[5] [Cic. de fin. 1, 18.]

Page 167

[1] Nemo desperet meliora lapsus. [2] Theocritus.
[3] Hor. [4] Ovid. [5] Thales.
[6] Lib. 7 Flor. Hist. Omnium felicissimus, et locupletissimus, etc., incarceratus sæpe adolescentiam periculo mortis habuit sollicitudinis et discriminis plenam, etc.

Page 168

[1] Lætior successit securitas quæ simul cum divitiis cohabitare nescit.—Camden.
[2] Pecuniam perdidisti, fortassis illa te perderet manens.—Seneca.
[3] Expeditior es ob pecuniarum jacturam. Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest.—Seneca.
[4] Hor. [5] Jubet me posthac fortuna expeditius philosophari.

Page 169

[1] In frag. Quirites, multa mihi pericula domi, militiæ multa adversa fuere, quorum alia toleravi, alia deorum auxilio repuli et virtute mea; nunquam animus negotio defuit, nec decretis labor; nullæ res nec prosperæ nec adversæ ingenium mutabant.
[2] Qualis mundi status supra lunam semper serenus.
[3] Bona mens nullum tristioris fortunæ recipit incursum (Val. lib. 4, cap. 1). Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil. [4] Hor.
[5] Æquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem.—Lib. 2, Od. 3.
[6] Epict. cap. 18. [7] Ter. Adel. Act. 4, sc. 7.
[8] Unaquæque res duas habet ansas, alteram quæ teneri, alteram quæ non potest; in manu nostra quam volumus accipere.
[9] Ter. And. Act. 4, sc. 6.

Page 170

[1] Epictetus. Invitatus ad convivium, quæ apponuntur comedis, non quæris ultra; in mundo multa rogitas quæ dii negant.
[2] Cap. 6 de providentia. Mortales cum sint rerum omnium indigi, ideo Deus aliis divitias, aliis paupertatem distribuit, ut qui opibus pollent, materiam subministrent; qui vero inopes, exercitatas artibus manus admoveant.
[3] Si sint omnes æquales, necesse est ut omnes fame pereant; quis aratro terram sulcaret, quis sementem faceret, quis plantas sereret, quis vinum exprimeret?
[4] Liv. lib. 2. [5] Lib. 3, de cons.

Page 171

[1] Seneca.
[2] Vide Isaacum Pontanum, Descript. Amsterdam. lib. 2, cap. 22.
[3] Vide Ed. Pelham's book, edit. 1630.
[4] Heautontim. Act. 1, sc. 2.
[5] Epist. 98. Omni fortuna valentior ipse animus, in utramque partem res suas ducit, beatæque ac miseræ vitæ sibi causa est.
[6] Fortuna quem nimium fovet stultum facit.—Pub. Syrus.
[7] Seneca de beat. vit. cap. 14. Miseri si deserantur ab ea, miseriores si obruantur.

Page 172

[1] Plutarch, vit. ejus. [2] Hor. Epist. lib. 1, ep. 18.
[3] Hor. [4] Boeth. 2.
[5] Epist. lib. 3, vit. Paul. Eremit. Libet eos nunc interrogare qui domus marmoribus vestiunt, qui uno filo villarum ponunt pretia, huic seni modo quid unquam defuit? vos gemma bibitis, ille concavis manibus naturæ satisfecit; ille pauper Paradisum capit, vos avaros Gehenna suscipiet.

PAGE 173

[1] Satur. lib. 11. Alius libidini servit, alius ambitioni, omnes spei, omnes timori.
[2] Nat. lib. 3. [3] Consol. lib. 3.
[4] O generose, quid est vita nisi carcer animi?

PAGE 174

[1] Herbastein.
[2] Vertomannus, Navig. lib. 2, cap. 4. Commercia in nundinis noctu hora secunda ob nimios qui sæviunt interdiu æstus exercent.
[3] Ubi verior contemplatio quam in solitudine? ubi studium solidius quam in quiete?
[4] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. dier. lib. 1, cap. 2.
[5] In Ps. lxxvi. Non ita laudatur Joseph cum frumenta distribueret, ac quum carcerem habitaret. [6] Boethius.

PAGE 175

[1] Philostratus in Deliciis. Peregrini sunt imbres in terra et fluvii in mari, Jupiter apud Ægyptos, sol apud omnes; hospes anima in corpore, luscinia in aere, hirundo in domo, Ganymedes cœlo, etc.
[2] Lib. 16, cap. 1. Nullam frugem habent, potus ex imbre: et hæ gentes si vincantur, etc.
[3] Lib. 5 de legibus. Cumque cognatis careat et amicis, majorem apud deos et apud homines misericordiam meretur.

PAGE 176

[1] Cardan. de consol. lib. 2. [2] [Publius Syrus.] [3] Benzo.
[4] Summo mane ululatum oriuntur, pectora percutientes, etc., miserabile spectaculum exhibentes.—Ortelius, in Græcia.
[5] Catullus. [6] Virgil. [7] Lucan.

PAGE 177

[1] 3 Annal. [2] Virg. Æn. 9. [3] Confess. lib. 1. [4] Juvenalis.

PAGE 178

[1] Amator scortum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, miles rapinam, fur prædam; morbos odimus et accersimus.—Cardan.
[2] Seneca. Quum nos sumus, mors non adest; cum vero mors adest, tum nos non sumus.
[3] Bernard. cap. 3 Med. Nasci miserum, vivere pœna, angustia mori.
[4] Plato, Apol. Socratis. Sed jam hora est hinc abire, etc.
[5] Comedi ad satietatem, gravitas me offendit; parcius edi, non est expletum desiderium; venereas delicias sequor, hinc morbus, lassitudo, etc.
[6] Bern. cap. 3 Med. De tantilla lætitia quanta tristitia; post tantam voluptatem quam gravis miseria!
[7] Est enim mors piorum felix transitus de labore ad refrigerium, de expectatione ad præmium, de agone ad brabeum.

PAGE 179

[1] Vaticanus, vita ejus. [2] Luc. [3] Il. 19 Homer. [4] Ovid.
[5] Consol. ad Apollon. Non est libertate nostra positum non dolere, misericordiam abolet, etc.

PAGE 180

[1] Ovid. 4 Trist. [2] Tacitus, lib. 2.
[3] Lib. 9, cap. 9, de Civitate Dei. Non quæro cum irascatur sed cur, non utrum sit tristis sed unde, non utrum timeat sed quid timeat.

[4] Festus, verbo minuitur. Luctui dies indicebatur cum liberi nascantur. cum frater aut, amicus ab hospite captivus domum redeat, puella desponsetur.

[5] Ob hanc causam mulieres ablegaram ne talia facerent; nos hæc audientes erubuimus et destitimus a lacrimis.

[6] Lib. 1, class. 8, de claris. jurisconsultis Patavinis.

[7] 12 innuptæ puellæ amictæ viridibus pannis, etc.

[8] Lib. de consol.

[9] Præceptis philosophiæ confirmatus adversus omnem fortunæ vim, et te consecrata in cœlumque recepta, tanta affectus lætitia sum ac voluptate, quantam animo capere possum, ac exultare plane mihi videor, victorque de omni dolore et fortuna triumphare.

Page 181

[1] Ut lignum uri natum, arista secari, sic homines mori.

[2] Boeth. lib. 2, met. 3. [3] Boeth.

[4] Nic. Hensel. Breslagr. fol. 47.

[5] Twenty then present.

[6] To Magdalen, the daughter of Charles the Seventh of France. Obeunt noctesque diesque, etc.

[7] Assyriorum regio funditus deleta.

[8] Omnium quot unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima.

[9] Ovid. [10] Arcad. lib. 8.

[11] Præfat. Topogr. Constantinop.

Page 182

[1] Epist. Tull. lib. 4.

[2] Quum tot oppidorum cadavera ante oculos projecta jacent.

[3] Hor. lib. 1, Od. 24.

[4] De remed. fortuit.

[5] Erubesce tanta tempestate quod ad unam anchoram stabas.

[6] Vis ægrum, et morbidum, sitibundum?—gaude potius quod his malis liberatus sit.

[7] Uxorem bonam aut invenisti, aut sic fecisti; si inveneris, aliam habere te posse ex hoc intelligamus: si feceris, bene speres, salvus est artifex.

Page 183

[1] Stulti est compedes licet aureas amare.

[2] Hor. [3] Hor. lib. 1, Od. 24. [4] Virg. Æn. 4.

[5] Cap. 19. Si id studes ut uxor, amici, liberi perpetuo vivant, stultus es.

[6] Deus quos diligit juvenes rapit.—Menander.

[7] Consol. ad Apoll. Apollonius filius tuus in flore decessit, ante nos ad æternitatem digressus, tanquam e convivio abiens, priusquam in errorem aliquem e temulentia incideret, quales in longa senecta accidere solent.

Page 184

[1] Tom. 1, Tract. de luctu. Quid me mortuum miserum vocas, qui te sum multo felicior? aut quid acerbi mihi putas contigisse? an quia non sum malus senex, ut tu facie rugosus, incurvus, etc. O demens, quid tibi videtur in vita boni? nimirum amicitias, cœnas, etc. Longe melius non esurire quam edere; non sitire, etc.—Gaude potius quod morbos et febres effugerim, angorem animi, etc. Ejulatus quid prodest, quid lachrymæ, etc.

[2] Virgil. [3] [Martial.]

[4] Chytræus, Deliciis Europæ. [5] Epist. 85.

Page 185

[1] Sardus, de mor. gen.
[2] Præmeditatione facilem reddere quemque casum.—Plutarchus, consolatione ad Apollonium. Assuefacere nos casibus debemus.—Tull. lib. 3 Tusculan. Quæst.
[3] Cap. 8. Si ollam diligas, memento te ollam diligere, non perturbaberis ea confracta; si filium aut uxorem, memento hominem a te diligi, etc.
[4] Seneca. [5] Boeth. lib. 1, pros. 4.

Page 186

[1] Qui invidiam ferre non potest, ferre contemptum cogitur.
[2] Ter. Heautont.
[3] Epictetus, cap. 14. Si labor objectus fuerit tolerantiæ, convicium patientiæ, etc., si ita consueveris, vitiis non obtemperabis.
[4] Ter. Phor. [5] Alciat. Embl.

Page 187

[1] Virg. Æn.
[2] Nat. Chytræus, Deliciis Europæ. Felix civitas quæ tempore pacis de bello cogitat.
[3] Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est.—Hor.
[4] Lipsius, Epist. quæst. lib. 1, ep. 7.

Page 188

[1] Lipsius, Epist. lib. 1, epist. 7.
[2] Gloria comitem habet invidiam, pari onere premitur retinendo ac acquirendo.
[3] Quid aliud ambitiosus sibi parat quam ut probra ejus pateant? nemo vivens qui non habet in vita plura vituperatione quam laude digna; his malis non melius occurritur, quam si bene latueris.
[4] Et omnes fama per urbes garrula laudet.
[5] Sen. Her. Fur. [6] Hor.

Page 189

[1] The right honourable Lady Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter. The Lord Berkley.
[2] [A bad poet in Catullus (22), who had a high opinion of himself.]
[3] Distichon ejus in militem Christianum e Græco. Engraven on the tomb of Fr. Puccius the Florentine in Rome. Chytræus in Deliciis.
[4] Pædaretus in 300 Lacedæmoniorum numerum non electus risit, gratulari se dicens civitatem habere 300 cives se meliores.

Page 190

[1] Kissing goes by favour.
[2] Æneas Syl. de miser. curial. Dantur honores in curiis non secundum honores et virtutes, sed ut quisque ditior est atque potentior, eo magis honoratur.
[3] Sesellius, lib. 2 de repub. Gallorum. Favore apud nos et gratia plerumque res agitur; et qui commodum aliquem nacti sunt intercessorem, aditum fere habent ad omnes præfecturas.
[4] Imperitus periti munus occupat, et sic apud vulgus habetur. Ille profitetur mille coronatis, cum nec decem mereatur; alius e diverso mille dignus, vix decem consequi potest.
[5] Epist. dedic. disput. Zeubbeo Bondemontio et Cosmo Ruccelaio.
[6] Quam is qui regnat, et regnandi sit imperitus.
[7] Lib. 22 Hist.
[8] Ministri locupletiores sunt iis quibus ministratur.

Page 191

[1] Hor. lib. 2, Sat. 5. [2] Solomon, Eccles. ix, 11. [3] Sat. Menip.
[4] Tale quid est apud Valent. Andream, Apolog. manip. 5, apol. 39.

Page 192

[1] Stella Fomalhaut immortalitatem dabit.
[2] Lib. de lib. propriis. [3] Hor.
[4] Qui induit thoracem aut galeam, etc.
[5] [Two provinces of Moronia (Foolsland), in Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem].

Page 193

[1] Lib. 4 de guber. Dei. Quid est dignitas indigno nisi circulus aureus in naribus suis?
[2] In Lysandro. [3] Ovid. Met.
[4] Magistratus virum indicat.
[5] Ideo boni viri aliquando gratiam non accipiunt, ne in superbiam eleventur ventositate jactantiæ, ne altitudo muneris negligentiores efficiat.
[6] Ælian. [7] Injuriarum remedium est oblivio. [8] Matt. xviii, 22.

Page 194

[1] Matt. v, 39. [2] Rom. xii, 18.
[3] Si toleras injuriam, victor evadis; qui enim pecuniis privatus est, non est privatus victoria in hac philosophia.
[4] Dispeream nisi te ultus fuero: dispeream nisi ut me deinceps ames effecero.
[5] Joach. Camerarius, Embl. 21, cent. 1.
[6] [The Colonnas.] [7] Heliodorus.
[8] Reipsa reperi nihil esse homini melius facilitate et clementia.—Ter. Adelp. [9] Ovid. [10] Camden, in Glouc.

Page 195

[1] Usque ad pectus ingressus est, aquam, etc.; cymbam amplectens, Sapientissime rex, ait, tua humilitas meam vicit superbiam, et sapientia triumphavit ineptiam; collum ascende quod contra te fatuus erexi, intrabis terram quam hodie fecit tuam benignitas, etc.
[2] Chrysostom. Contumeliis affectus est et eas pertulit; opprobriis, nec ultus est; verberibus cæsus, nec vicem reddidit.
[3] Rom. xii, 14. [4] Prov.
[5] Contend not with a greater man.—[Eccles. vi, 10].
[6] Occidere possunt.
[7] Non facile aut tutum in eum scribere qui potest proscribere.
[8] Arcana tacere, otium recte collocare, injuriam posse ferre, difficillimum.
[9] Rom. xii. [10] Ps. xiii, 12.
[11] Nullus tam severe inimicum suum ulcisci potest, quam Deus solet miserorum oppressores.
[12] Arcturus in Plaut.

Page 196

[1] Hor. Od. 3, 2. [2] Wisd. xi, 16. [3] Juvenal.
[4] Apud Christianos non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam miser est.—Leo, Ser.

Page 197

[1] Neque præcepisset Deus si grave fuisset; sed qua ratione potero? facile si cœlum suspexeris, et eius pulchritudine, et quod pollicetur Deus, etc.

[2] Valer. lib. 4, cap. 1. [3] Ep. Q. frat.
[4] Camerarius, Emb. 75, cent. 2.
[5] Papæ, inquit: nullum animal tam pusillum quod non cupiat ulcisci.
[6] Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [7] 1 Pet. ii.
[8] Siquidem malorum proprium est inferre damna, et bonorum pedissequa est injuria.

Page 198

[1] Alciat. Emb.
[2] Naturam expellas furca licet usque recurret.
[3] By many indignities we come to dignities. Tibi subjicito quæ fiunt aliis, furtum convicia, etc. Et in iis in te admissis non excandesces.—Epictetus.
[4] Plutarch. Quinquagies Catoni dies dicta ab inimicis.
[5] Lib. 18.
[6] Hoc scio pro certo quod si cum stercore certo, Vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor. [7] Lib. 8, cap. 2.

Page 199

[1] Obloquutus est, probrumque tibi intulit quispiam, sive vera is dixerit, sive falsa, maximam tibi coronam texueris si mansuete convicium tuleris. —Chrys. in 6 cap. ad Rom. ser. 10.
[2] Tullius, epist. Dolabellæ. Tu forti sis animo; et tua moderatio, constantia, eorum infamet injuriam.
[3] Boethius, Consol. lib. 4, pros. 3.

Page 200

[1] Ter. Phor.

Page 201

[1] Camerar. Emb. 61, cent. 3.
[2] Lipsius, Elect. lib. 3, ult. Latrant me; jaceo, ac taceo, etc.
[3] Catullus.
[4] The symbol of J. Kevenheder, a Carinthian baron, saith Sambucus.
[5] The symbol of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. [6] Pers. Sat. 1.
[7] Magni animi est injurias despicere.—Seneca de ira, cap. 31.
[8] Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam ex insipientis sermone pendere? —Tullius, 2 de finibus.

Page 202

[1] Tua te conscientia salvare, in cubiculum ingredere, ubi secure requiescas. Minuit se quodammodo proba bonitas conscientiæ secretum.—Boethius, lib. 1, pros. 4.
[2] Ringantur licet et maledicant; Palladium illud pectori oppono, non moveri: consisto modestiæ veluti sudi innitens, excipio et frango stultissimum impetum livoris.—Putean. lib. 2, epist. 58.
[3] Mil. Glor. Act. 3, Plautus.

Page 203

[1] Bion said his father was a rogue, his mother a whore, to prevent obloquy, and to show that naught belonged to him but goods of the mind.

Page 204

[1] Lib. 2, ep. 25. [2] Nosce teipsum. [3] Contentus abi.
[4] Ne fidas opibus, neque parasitis, trahunt in præcipitium.
[5] Pacem cum hominibus habe, bellum cum vitiis. Otho. 2 imperat. symb.

[6] Dæmon te nunquam otiosum inveniat.—Hieron.
[7] Diu deliberandum quod statuendum est semel.
[8] Insipientis est dicere Non putaram.
[9] Ames parentem, si æquum; aliter, feras; præstes parentibus pietatem, amicis dilectionem.
[10] Comprime linguam. Quid de quoque viro et cui dicas sæpe caveto. Libentius audias quam loquaris; vive ut vivas.
[11] Epictetus. Optime feceris si ea fugeris quæ in alio reprehendis. Nemini dixeris quæ nolis efferri.
[12] Fuge susurrones. Percontatorem fugito, etc.
[13] Sint sales sine vilitate.—Sen. [14] Sponde, presto noxa.
[15] Camerar. Emb. 55, cent. 2. Cave cui credas, vel nemini fidas.—Epicharmus.
[16] Tecum habita. [17] Bis dat qui cito dat.
[18] Post est occasio calva. [19] Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum.
[20] Mendacium servile vitium.
[21] Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis ullius unquam, Commissumque teges.—Hor. lib. 1, Ep. 19. Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes.—Hor. lib. 1, Ep. 18.
[22] Ne te quæsiveris extra.
[23] Stultum est timere, quod vitari non potest.
[24] De re amissa irreparabili ne doleas.
[25] Tanti eris aliis quanti tibi fueris.
[26] Neminem cito laudes vel accuses.
[27] Nullius hospitis grata est mora longa.

Page 205

[1] Solonis lex apud Aristotelem; Gellius, lib. 2, cap. 12.
[2] Nullum locum putes sine teste, semper adesse Deum cogita.
[3] Secreto amicos admone, lauda palam.
[4] Ut ameris amabilis esto. Eros et Anteros gemelli Veneris, amatio et redamatio. Plat.
[5] Dum fata sinunt vivite læti.—Seneca.
[6] Id apprime in vita utile, ex aliis observare sibi quod ex usu siet.—Ter.
[7] Dum furor in cursu currenti cede furori. Cretizandum cum Crete. Temporibus servi, nec contra flamina flato.
[8] Nulla certior custodia innocentia: inexpugnabile munimentum munimento non egere.
[9] Unicuique suum onus intolerabile videtur. [10] Livius.

Page 206

[1] Ter. scen. 2, Adelphi. [2] Plautus. [3] Petronius, Catal.

Page 207

[1] Parmeno Cælestinæ, Act. 8. Si stultitia dolor esset, in nulla non domo ejulatus audires.
[2] Busbequius; Sandys, lib. 1, fol. 89.
[3] Quis hodie beatior, quam cui licet stultum esse, et eorundam immunitatibus frui?—Sat. Menip. [4] Lib. Hist.
[5] Parvo viventes laboriosi, longævi, suo contenti, ad centum annos vivunt.
[6] Lib. 6 de Nup. Philol. Ultra humanam fragilitatem prolixi, ut immature pereat qui centenarius moriatur, etc. [7] [Perm.]

Page 208

[1] Victus eorum caseo et lacte consistit, potus aqua et serum; pisces loco panis habent; ita multos annos sæpe 250 absque medico et medicina vivunt.

[2] Lib. de 4 complex.
[3] Per mortes agunt experimenta et animas nostras negotiantur; et quod aliis exitiale hominem occidere, iis impunitas summa.—Plinius.
[4] Juven.
[5] Omnis morbus lethalis aut curabilis, in vitam desinit aut in mortem. Utroque igitur modo medicina inutilis; si lethalis, curari non potest; si curabilis, non requirit medicum: natura expellet.
[6] In Interpretationes politico-morales in 7 Aphorism. Hippoc. libros.

Page 209

[1] Præfat. de contrad. med.
[2] Opinio facit medicos: a fair gown, a velvet cap, the name of a doctor is all in all.
[3] Morbus alius pro alio curatur; aliud remedium pro alio.
[4] Contrarias proferunt sententias.—Card.
[5] Lib. 3 de sap. Omnes artes fraudem admittunt, sola medicina sponte eam accersit.

Page 210

[1] Omnis ægrotus propria culpa perit, sed nemo nisi medici beneficio restituitur.—Agrippa.
[2] Lib. 3, Crat. ep. Winceslao Raphæno. Ausim dicere, tot pulsuum differentias, quæ describuntur a Galeno, nec a quoquam intelligi, nec observari posse.
[3] Lib. 28, cap. 7, Syntax. art. mirab. Mallem ego expertis credere solum, quam mere ratiocinantibus: neque satis laudare possum institutum Babylonicum, etc.

Page 211

[1] Herod. Euterpe, de Ægyptiis. Apud eos singulorum morborum sunt singuli medici; alius curat oculos, alius dentes, alius caput, partes occultas alius.
[2] Cyrop. lib. 1. Velut vestium fractarum resarcinatores, etc.
[3] Chrys. Hom.
[4] Prudens et pius medicus morbum ante expellere satagit, cibis medicinalibus, quam puris medicinis.
[5] Cuicunque potest per alimenta restitui sanitas, fugiendus est penitus usus medicamentorum.
[6] Modestus et sapiens medicus nunquam properabit ad pharmaciam, nisi cogente necessitate.

Page 212

[1] Quicunque pharmacatur in juventute, deflebit in senectute.
[2] Hildesh. Spic. 2 de mel. fol. 276. Nulla est ferme medicina purgans, quæ non aliquam de viribus et partibus corporis deprædatur.
[3] Lib. 1, et Bart. lib. 8, cap. 12.
[4] De vict. acut. Omne purgans medicamentum, corpori purgato contrarium, etc., succos et spiritus abducit, substantiam corporis aufert.
[5] Hesiod. Op.
[6] Heurnius, præf. pra. med. Quot morborum sunt ideæ, tot remediorum genera variis potentiis decorata.
[7] Penottus, Denar. med. Quæcunque regio producit simplicia, pro morbis regionis; crescit raro absinthium in Italia, quod ibi plerumque morbi calidi, sed cicuta, papaver, et herbæ frigidæ; apud nos Germanos et Polonos ubique provenit absinthium.

Page 213

[1] Quum in villam venit, consideravit quæ ibi crescebant medicamenta, simplicia frequentiora, et iis plerumque usus distillatis, et aliter, alimbacum ideo argenteum circumferens.

[2] Geog. Ad quos magnus herbariorum numerus undique confluit.

[3] Baldus mons [Monte Baldo] prope Benacum herbilegis maxime notus.

[4] Herbæ medicis utiles omnium in Apulia feracissimæ.

[5] Sincerus, Itiner. Gallia.

[6] Qui se nihil effecisse arbitrantur, nisi Indiam, Æthiopiam, Arabiam, et ultra Garamantas a tribus mundi partibus exquisita remedia corradunt. Tutius sæpe medetur rustica anus una, etc.

[7] Ep. lib. 8. Proximorum incuriosi longinqua sectamur, et ad ea cognoscenda iter ingredi et mare transmittere solemus; at quæ sub oculis posita negligimus.

Page 214

[1] Exotica rejecit, domesticis solum nos contentos esse voluit.—Melch. Adamus, vit. ejus.

[2] Instit. lib. 1, cap. 8, sec. 1. Ad exquisitam curandi rationem, quorum cognitio imprimis necessaria est.

[3] Quæ cæca vi ac specifica qualitate morbos futuros arcent.—Lib. 1, cap. 10, Instit. Phar.

Page 215

[1] Galen, lib. Hepar lupi hepaticos curat.

[2] Stercus pecoris ad epilepsiam, etc.

[3] Priestpintle, rocket. [4] Sabina fetum educit.

[5] Wecker. Vide Oswaldum Crollium, lib. de internis rerum signaturis, de herbis particularibus parti cuique convenientibus.

[6] Idem Laurentius, cap. 9.

[7] Dicor borago, gaudia semper ago.

[8] Vino infusum hilaritatem facit. [9] Odyss. 4.

Page 216

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 2, Prax. med. Mira vi lætitiam præbet et cor confirmat, vapores melancholicos purgat a spiritibus.

[2] Proprium est ejus animum hilarem reddere, concoctionem juvare, cerebri obstructiones resecare, sollicitudines fugare, sollicitas imaginationes tollere.

[3] Non solum ad viperarum morsus, comitiales, vertiginosos; sed per se accommodata radix tristitiam discutit, hilaritatemque conciliat.

[4] Bilem utramque detrahit, sanguinem purgat.

Page 217

[1] Lib. 7, cap. 5. Laet, Occid. Indiæ descrip. lib. 10, cap. 2.

[2] Heurnius, lib. 2, consil. 185, Scoltzii consil. 77.

[3] Præf. Denar. med. Omnes capitis dolores et phantasmata tollit; scias nullam herbam in terris huic comparandam viribus et bonitate nasci.

[4] Optimum medicamentum in celeri cordis confortatione, et ad omnes qui tristantur, etc.

[5] Rondeletius helenium, quod vim habet miram ad hilaritatem et multi pro secreto habent. Sckenkius, Observ. med. cent. 5, observ. 86.

[6] Afflictas mentes relevat, animi imaginationes et dæmones expellit.

[7] Sckenkius, Mizaldus. Rhasis.

Page 218

[1] Cratonis Ep. vol. 1. Credat qui vult gemmas mirabilia efficere; mihi, qui et ratione et experientia didici aliter rem habere, nullus facile persuadebit falsum esse verum. [2] Lib. de gemmis.

[3] Margaritæ et corallum ad melancholiam præcipue valent.

[4] Margaritæ et gemmæ spiritus confortant et cor, melancholiam fugant.

[5] Præfat. ad Lap. prec. lib. 2, sect. 2, de mat. med. Regum coronas ornant, digitos illustrant, supellectilem ditant, e fascino tuentur, morbis medentur, sanitatem conservant, mentem exhilarant, tristitiam pellunt.

[6] Encelius, lib. 3, cap. 4. Suspensus vel ebibitus tristitiæ multum resistit, et cor recreat.

[7] Idem, cap. 5 et cap. 6, de hyacintho et topazio. Iram sedat, et animi tristitiam pellit.

[8] Lapis hic gestatus aut ebibitus prudentiam auget, nocturnos timores pellit; insanos hac sanavi, et quum lapidem abjecerint, erupit iterum stultitia.

[9] Inducit sapientiam, fugat stultitiam. Idem Cardanus, lunaticos juvat.

[10] Confert ad bonum intellectum, comprimit malas cogitationes, etc. Alacres reddit.

[11] Albertus; Encelius, cap. 44, lib. 3; Plin. lib. 37, cap. 10; Jacobus de Dondis: Dextro brachio alligatus sanat lunaticos, insanos, facit amabiles, jucundos.

[12] Valet contra phantasticas illusiones ex melancholia.

Page 219

[1] Amentes sanat, tristitiam pellit, iram, etc.

[2] Valet ad fugandos timores et dæmones, turbulenta somnia abigit, et nocturnos puerorum timores compescit.

[3] Somnia læta facit argenteo annulo gestatus.

[4] Atræ bili adversatur, omnium gemmarum pulcherrima, cœli colorem refert, animum ab errore liberat, mores in melius mutat.

[5] Longis mœroribus feliciter medetur, deliquiis, etc.

[6] Sec. 5, memb. 1, subs. 5.

[7] Gestamen lapidum et gemmarum maximum fert auxilium et juvamen; unde qui dites sunt gemmas secum ferre student.

[8] Margaritæ et uniones quæ a conchis et piscibus apud Persas et Indos, valde cordiales sunt, etc.

[9] Aurum lætitiam generat, non in corde, sed in arca virorum.

Page 220

[1] Chaucer.

[2] Aurum non aurum. Noxium ob aquas rodentes.

[3] Ep. ad Monavium. Metallica omnia in universum quovismodo parata, nec tuto nec commode intra corpus sumi.

[4] In Parag. Stultissimus pilus occipitis mei plus scit quam omnes vestri doctores, et calceorum meorum annuli doctiores sunt quam vester Galenus et Avicenna, barba mea plus experta est quam vestræ omnes academiæ.

[5] Vide Ernestum Burgravium, edit. Franaker [? Frankfurt], 8vo, 1611, Crollius, and others.

[6] Plus proficiet gutta mea quam tot eorum drachmæ et unciæ.

Page 221

[1] Nonnulli huic supra modum indulgent, usum etsi non adeo magnum, non tamen abjiciendum censeo.

[3] Ausim dicere neminem medicum excellentem qui non in hac distillatione chymica sit versatus. Morbi chronici devinci citra metallica vix possint, aut ubi sanguis corrumpitur.

[3] Fraudes hominum et ingeniorum capturæ, officinas invenere istas, in quibus sua cuique venalis promittitur vita; statim compositiones et mixturæ inexplicabiles ex Arabia et India, ulceri parvo medicina a Rubro Mari importatur.

[4] Arnoldus, Aphor. 15. Fallax medicus qui, potens mederi simplicibus, composita dolose aut frustra quærit.

[5] Lib. 1, sect. 1, cap. 8. Dum infinita medicamenta miscent, laudem sibi comparare student, et in hoc studio alter alterum superare conatur, dum quisque quo plura miscuerit, eo se doctiorem putat; inde fit ut suam prodant inscitiam, dum ostentant peritiam, et se ridiculos exhibeant, etc.

[6] Multo plus periculi a medicamento quam a morbo, etc.

Page 222

[1] Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1, cap. 5. Præcepta medici dant nostris diversa, in medendo non infelices; pharmacis utuntur simplicibus, herbis, radicibus, etc.; tota eorum medicina nostræ herbariæ præceptis continetur; nullus ludus hujus artis, quisque privatus a quolibet magistro eruditur.

[2] Lib. de aqua.

[3] Opusc. de dos.

[4] Subtil. cap. de scientiis.

Page 223

[1] Quercetan, Pharmacop. restitut. cap. 2. Nobilissimum et utilissimum inventum summa cum necessitate adinventum et introductum.

[2] Cap. 25, Tetrabib. 4, ser. 2. Necessitas nunc cogit aliquando noxia quærere remedia, et ex simplicibus compositas facere, tum ad saporem, odorem, palati gratiam, ad correctionem simplicium, tum ad futuros usus, conservationem, etc.

[3] Cum simplicia non possunt necessitas cogit ad composita.

[4] Lips. Epist.

[5] Theod. Prodromus, Amor. lib. 9.

Page 224

[1] Sanguinem corruptum emaculat, scabiem abolet, lepram curat, spiritus recreat, et animum exhilarat. Melancholicos humores per urinam educit, et cerebrum a crassis, ærumnosis melancholiæ fumis purgat, quibus addo dementes et furiosos vinculis retinendos plurimum juvat, et ad rationis usum ducit. Testis est mihi conscientia, quod viderim matronam quandam hinc liberatam, quæ frequentius ex iracundia demens, et impos animi dicenda tacenda loquebatur, adeo furens ut ligari cogeretur. Fuit ei præstantissimo remedio vini istius usus, indicatus a peregrino homine mendico, eleemosynam præ foribus dictæ matronæ implorante.

[2] Iis qui tristantur sine causa, et vitant amicorum societatem et tremunt corde.

[3] Modo non inflammetur melancholia, aut calidiore temperamento sint.

Page 225

[1] [Lozenges].

[2] Heurnius. Datur in sero lactis, aut vino.

Page 226

[1] Veratri modo expurgat cerebrum, roborat memoriam.—Fuchsius.

[2] Crassos et biliosos humores per vomitum educit.

[3] Vomitum et menses ciet; valet ad hydrop., etc.

[4] Materias atras educit.

[5] Ab arte ideo rejiciendum, ob periculum suffocationis.

[6] Cap. 16. Magna vi educit, et molestia cum summa.
[7] Quondam terribile.
[8] Multi studiorum gratia ad providenda acrius quæ commentabantur.
[9] Medetur comitialibus melancholicis, podagricis; vetatur senibus, pueris, mollibus, et effeminatis.
[10] Collect. lib. 8, cap. 3. In affectionibus iis quæ difficulter curantur, helleborum damus.
[11] Non sine summa cautione hoc remedio utemur; est enim validissimum, et quum vires antimonii contemnit morbus, in auxilium evocatur, modo valide vires efflorescant.

Page 227

[1] Aetius, Tetrab. cap. 1, ser. 2. Iis solum dari vult helleborum album, qui secus spem non habent, non iis qui syncopem timent, etc.
[2] Cum salute multorum. [3] Cap. 12 de morbis cap.
[4] Nos facillime utimur nostro præparato helleboro albo.
[5] In lib. 5 Dioscor. cap. 3. Omnibus opitulatur morbis, quos atra bilis excitavit, comitialibus, iisque præsertim qui hypocondriacas obtinent passiones.
[6] Andreas Gallus, Tridentinus medicus, salutem huic medicamento post Deum debet.
[7] Integræ sanitati brevi restitutus; id quod aliis accidisse scio, qui hoc mirabili medicamento usi sunt.

Page 228

[1] Qui melancholicus factus plane desipiebat, multaque stulte loquebatur, huic exhibitum 12 gr. stibium, quod paulo post atram bilem ex alvo eduxit (ut ego vidi qui vocatus tanquam ad miraculum adfui testari possum), et ramenta tanquam carnis dissecta in partes; totum excrementum tanquam sanguinem nigerrimum repræsentabat.
[2] Antimonium venenum, non medicamentum.
[3] Cratonis ep. sect. vel ad Monavium ep. In utramque partem dignissimum medicamentum, si recte utentur, secus venenum.

Page 229

[1] Mærores fugant; utilissime dantur melancholicis et quaternariis.
[2] Millies horum vires expertus sum.
[3] Sal nitrum, sal ammoniacum, dracontii radix, dictamnum.
[4] Calet ordine secundo, siccat primo, adversus omnia vitia atræ bilis valet, sanguinem mundat, spiritus illustrat, mœrorem discutit herba mirifica.
[5] Cap. 4, lib. 2. [6] Recentiores negant ora venarum resecare.
[7] An aloe aperiat ora venarum, lib. 9, cont. 3.
[8] Vapores abstergit a vitalibus partibus.
[9] Tract. 15, cap. 6. Bonus Alexander, tantam lapide Armeno confidentiam habuit, ut omnes melancholicas passiones ab eo curari posse crederet, et ego inde sæpissime usus sum, et in ejus exhibitione nunquam fraudatus fui.

Page 230

[1] Maurorum medici hoc lapide plerumque purgant melancholiam, etc.
[2] Quo ego sæpe feliciter usus sum, et magno cum auxilio.
[3] Si non hoc, nihil restat nisi helleborus, et lapis Armenus.—Consil. 184 Scoltzii.
[4] Multa corpora vidi gravissime hinc agitata et stomacho multum obfuisse.

[5] [Melampus.] [6] Cum vidisset ab eo curari capras furentes, etc.
[7] Lib 6 Simpl. med.
[8] Pseudolo, Act. 4. scen. ult. Helleboro hisce hominibus opus est.

Page 231

[1] Hor. [2] In Satyr.
[3] Crato, consil. 16, lib. 2. Etsi multi magni viri probent, in bonam partem accipiant medici, non probem.
[4] Vescuntur veratro coturnices quod hominibus toxicum est.
[5] Lib. 23, cap. 7, 12, 14. [6] De var. hist.
[7] Corpus incolume reddit, et juvenile efficit.
[8] Veteres non sine causa usi sunt: Difficilis ex helleboro purgatio, et terroris plena, sed robustis datur tamen, etc.

Page 232

[1] Innocens medicamentum, modo rite paretur.
[2] Absit jactantia, ego primus præbere cœpi, etc.
[3] In Cathart. Ex una sola evacuatione furor cessavit et quietus inde vixit. Tale exemplum apud Sckenkium et apud Scoltzium, ep. 231. P. Monavius se stolidum curasse jactat hoc epoto tribus aut quatuor vicibus.
[4] Ultimum refugium, extremum medicamentum, quod cætera omnia claudit; quæcunque cæteris laxativis pelli non possunt ad hunc pertinent; si non huic, nulli cedunt.
[5] Testari possum me sexcentis hominibus helleborum nigrum exhibuisse, nullo prorsus incommodo, etc.

Page 233

[1] Pharmacop. Optimum est ad maniam et omnes melancholicos affectus, tum intra assumptum, tum extra, secus capiti cum linteolis in eo madefactis tepide admotum.
[2] Epist. Matth. lib. 3. Tales syrupi nocentissimi et omnibus modis extirpandi.
[3] Purgantia censebant medicamenta, non unum humorem attrahere, sed quemcunque attigerint in suam naturam convertere.

Page 234

[1] Religantur omnes exsiccantes medicinæ, ut aloe, hiera, pilulæ quæcunque.
[2] Contra eos qui lingua vulgari et vernacula remedia et medicamenta præscribunt, et quibusvis communia faciunt.
[3] Quis, quantum, quando?

Page 235

[1] Fernelius, lib. 2, cap. 19.
[2] Renodeus, lib. 5, cap. 21. De his Mercurialis, lib. 3 de composit. med. cap. 24, Heurnius, lib. 1 Prax. med., Wecker, etc.

Page 236

[1] Cont. lib. 1, cap. 9. Festines ad impinguationem, et cum impinguantur, removetur malum. [2] Beneficium ventris.

Page 237

[1] Si ex primario cerebri affectu melancholici evaserint, sanguinis detractione non indigent, nisi ob alias causas sanguis mittatur, si multus in vasis, etc., frustra enim fatigatur corpus, etc.
[2] Competit iis phlebotomia frontis.

[3] Si sanguis abundet, quod scitur ex venarum repletione, victus ratione præcedente, risu ægri, ætate, et aliis, tundatur mediana; et si sanguis apparet clarus et ruber, supprimatur; aut si vere, si niger aut crassus, permittatur fluere pro viribus ægri, dein post 8 vel. 12 diem aperiatur cephalica partis magis affectæ, et vena frontis, aut sanguis provocetur setis per nares, etc.

[4] Si quibus consuetæ suæ suppressæ sunt menses, etc., talo secare oportet, aut vena frontis si sanguis peccet cerebro.

[5] Nisi ortum ducat a sanguine, ne morbus inde augeatur: phlebotomia refrigerat et exsiccat, nisi corpus sit valde sanguineum, rubicundum.

[6] Cum sanguinem detrahere oportet, deliberatione indiget.—Aretæus lib. 7, cap. 5.

Page 238

[1] A lenioribus auspicandum (Valescus, Piso, Bruel), rariusque medicamentis purgantibus utendum, ni sit opus.

[2] Quia corpus exsiccant, morbum augent.

[3] Guianerius, Tract. 15, cap. 6.

[4] Piso. [5] Rhasis. Sæpe valent ex helleboro.

[6] Lib. 7. Exiguis medicamentis morbus non obsequitur.

[7] Modo caute detur et robustis. [8] Consil. 10, lib. 1.

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[1] Plin. lib. 31, cap. 6. Navigationes ob vomitionem prosunt plurimis morbis capitis, et omnibus ob quos helleborum bibitur. Idem Dioscorides, lib. 5, cap. 13; Avicenna tertia imprimis.

[2] Nunquam dedimus, quin ex una aut altera assumptione, Deo juvante, fuerint ad salutem restituti.

[3] Lib. 2. Inter composita purgantia melancholiam.

[4] Longo experimento a se observatum esse, melancholicos sine offensa egregie curandos valere. Idem, responsione ad Aubertum, veratrum nigrum, alias timidum et periculosum, vini spiritu etiam et oleo commodum sic usui redditur ut etiam pueris tuto administrari possit.

[5] Certum est hujus herbæ virtutem maximam et mirabilem esse, parumque distare a balsamo. Et qui norit eo recte uti, plus habet artis quam tota scribentium cohors aut omnes doctores in Germania.

[6] Quo feliciter usus sum.

[7] Hoc posito quod aliæ medicina non valeant, ista tunc Dei misericordia valebit, et est medicina coronata, quæ secretissime teneatur.

[8] Lib. de artif. med.

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[1] Sect. 3. Optimum remedium aqua composita Savonarola.

[2] Sckenkius, observ. 31.

[3] Donatus ab Altomari, cap. 7. Testor Deum, me multos melancholicos hujus solius syrupi usu curasse, facta prius purgatione.

[4] Centum ova et unum. Quolibet mane sumant ova sorbilia, cum sequenti pulvere supra ovum aspersa, et contineant quousque assumpserint centum et unum, maniacis et melancholicis utilissimum remedium.

[5] Quercetan, cap. 4 Phar.; Oswaldus Crollius.

[6] Cap. 1. Licet tota Galenistarum schola, mineralia non sine impio et ingrato fastu a sua practica detestentur; tamen in gravioribus morbis omni vegetabilium derelicto subsidio, ad mineralia confugiunt, licet ea temere, ignaviter, et inutiliter usurpent. Ad finem libri.

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[1] Veteres maledictis incessit, vincit, et contra omnem antiquitatem coronatur, ipseque a se victor declaratur.—Gal. lib. 1 Meth. cap. 2.

[2] Codronchus, de sale absinthii.

[3] Idem Paracelsus in medicina, quod Lutherus in theologia.
[4] Disput. in eundem, parte 1. Magus ebrius, illiteratus, dæmonem præceptorem habuit, dæmones familiares, etc.
[5] Master D. Lapworth.
[6] Ant. Philos. cap. de melan. Frictio vertice, etc.
[7] Aqua fortissima purgans os, nares, quam non vult auro vendere.

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[1] Mercurialis, consil. 6 et 30. Hæmorrhoidum et mensium provocatio uvat, modo ex eorum suppressione ortum habuerit.
[2] Laurentius, Bruel, etc.
[3] P. Bayerus, lib. 2, cap. 13. Naribus, etc.
[4] Cucurbitulæ siccæ, et fontanellæ crure sinistro.
[5] Hildesheim, Spicil. 2. Vapores a cerebro trahendi sunt frictionibus universi, cucurbitulis siccis, humeris ac dorso affixis, circa pedes et crura.
[6] Fontanellam aperi juxta occipitum, aut brachium.
[7] Balani, ligaturæ, frictiones, etc.
[8] Cauterium fiat sutura coronali, diu fluere permittantur loca ulcerosa. Trepano etiam cranii densitas imminui poterit, ut vaporibus fuliginosis exitus pateat.
[9] Quoniam difficulter cedit aliis medicamentis, ideo fiat in vertice cauterium, aut crure sinistro infra genu.
[10] Fiant duo aut tria cauteria, cum ossis perforatione.
[11] Vidi Romæ melancholicum qui, adhibitis multis remediis, sanari non poterat; sed cum cranium gladio fractum esset, optime sanatus est.
[12] Et alterum vidi melancholicum, qui ex alto cadens, non sine astantium admiratione liberatus est.
[13] Radatur caput et fiat cauterium in capite; procul dubio ista faciunt ad fumorum exhalationem; vidi melancholicum a fortuna gladio vulneratum, et cranium fractum; quamdiu vulnus apertum, curatus optime; at cum vulnus sanatum, reversa est mania.
[14] Usque ad duram matrem trepanari feci, et per mensem aperte stetit.

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[1] Cordis ratio semper habenda quod cerebro compatitur, et esse invicem officiunt.
[2] Aphor. 38. Medicina theriacalis præ cæteris eligenda.
[3] Galen. de temp. lib. 3, cap. 3. Moderate vinum sumptum acuit ingenium.
[4] Tardos aliter et tristes thuris in modum exhalare facit.
[5] Hilaritatem ut oleum flammam excitat.
[6] Viribus retinendis cardiacum eximium, nutriendo corpori alimentum optimum, ætatem floridam facit, calorem innatum fovet, concoctionem juvat, stomachum roborat, excrementis viam parat, urinam movet, somnum conciliat, venena, frigidos flatus dissipat, crassos humores attenuat, coquit, discutit, etc.
[7] Hor. lib. 2, od. 11. [8] Odyss. 4.

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[1] Pausanias. [2] Siracides [Ecclus.] xxxiv, 28.
[3] Legitur et prisci Catonis, Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.
[4] In pocula et aleam se præcipitavit, et iis fere tempus traduxit, ut ægram crapula mentem levaret, et conditionis præsentis cogitationes quibus agitabatur sobrius vitaret.
[5] So did the Athenians of old, as Suidas relates, and so do the Germans at this day.
[6] Lib. 6, cap. 23 et 24, de rerum proprietat. [7] Esther i, 8.

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[1] Tract. 1, Cont. lib. 1. Non est res laudabilior eo, vel cura melior; qui melancholicus, utatur societate hominum et biberia; et qui potest sustinere usum vini, non indiget alia medicina, quod eo sunt omnia ad usum necessaria hujus passionis.

[2] Tum quod sequatur inde sudor, vomitio, urina, a quibus superfluitates a corpore removentur et remanet corpus mundum. [3] Hor.

[4] Lib. 15, 2, Noct. Att. Vigorem animi moderato vini usu tueamur, et calefacto simul refotoque animo, si quid in eo vel frigidæ tristitiæ, vel torpentis verecundiæ fuerit, diluamus.

[5] Hor. lib. 1, Od. 27. [6] Od. 7, lib. 1, 31.

[7] Nam præstat ebrium me quam mortuum jacere.

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[1] Ephes. v, 18. ser. 19, in cap. 5.

[2] Lib. 14, 5. Nihil perniciosius viribus si modus absit, venenum.

[3] Theocritus, Idyl. 13. Vino dari lætitiam et dolorem.

[4] Renodeus.

[5] Mercurialis, consil. 25. Vinum frigidis optimum, et pessimum ferina melancholia.

[6] Fernelius, consil. 44 et 45, vinum prohibet assiduum, et aromata.

[7] Modo jecur non incendatur.

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[1] Per 24 horas sensum doloris omnem tollit, et ridere facit.

[2] Hildesheim, Spicil. 2.

[3] Alkermes omnia vitalia viscera mire confortat.

[4] Contra omnes melancholicos affectus confert, ac certum est ipsius usu omnes cordis et corporis vires mirum in modum refici.

[5] Succinum vero albissimum confortat ventriculum, flatum discutit, urinam movet, etc.

[6] Garcias ab Horto, Aromatum lib. 1, cap. 15. Adversus omnes morbos melancholicos conducit, et venenum. Ego (inquit) utor in morbis melancholicis, etc., et deploratos hujus usu ad pristinam sanitatem restitui. See more in Bauhinus' book de lap. bezoar, cap. 45.

[7] Edit. 1617. Monspelii electuarium fit pretiosissimum alkerm., etc.

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[1] Nihil morbum hunc æque exasperat, ac alimentorum vel calidiorum usus. Alkermes ideo suspectus, et quod semel moneam, caute adhibenda calida medicamenta.

[2] Sckenkius, lib. 1 Observat. de mania. Ad mentis alienationem, et desipientiam vitio cerebri obortam, in manuscripto codice Germanico, tale medicamentum reperi.

[3] Caput arietis nondum experti venerem, uno ictu amputatum, cornibus tantum demotis, integrum cum lana et pelle bene elixabis, tum aperto cerebrum eximes, et addens aromata, etc.

[4] Cinis testudinis ustus, et vino potus, melancholiam curat, et rasura cornu rhinocerotis, etc.—Sckenkius.

[5] Instat in matrice, quod sursum et deorsum ad odoris sensum præcipitatur.

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[1] Viscount St. Albans.

[2] Ex decocto florum nymphææ, lactucæ, violarum, chamomilæ althææ, capitis vervecum, etc.

[3] Inter auxilia multa adhibita, duo visa sunt remedium adferre, usus seri caprini cum extracto hellebori, et irrigatio ex lacte nymphææ, violarum, etc., suturæ coronali adhibita; his remediis sanitatem pristinam adeptus est.
[4] Confert et pulmo arietis, calidus agnus per dorsum divisus, exenteratus, admotus sincipiti.
[5] Semina cumini, rutæ, dauci, anethi cocta.
[6] Lib. 3 de locis affect. [7] Tetrab. 2, ser. 1, cap. 10.

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[1] Cap. de mel. Collectum die Vener. hora Jovis cum ad energiam venit, i.e. ad plenilunium Julii, inde gesta et collo appensa hunc affectum apprime juvat et fanaticos spiritus expellit.
[2] Lib. de proprietat. animal. Ovis a lupo correptæ pellem non esse pro indumento corporis usurpandam, cordis enim palpitationem excitat, etc.
[3] Mart. [4] Phar. lib. 1, cap. 12.
[5] Aetius, cap. 31, Tet. 3, ser. 4.
[6] Dioscorides, Ulysses Aldrovandus de aranea.
[7] Mistress Dorothy Burton; she died 1629.

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[1] Solo somno curata est citra medici auxilium, fol. 154.
[2] Bellonius, Observat. lib. 3, cap. 15. Lassitudinem et labores animi tollunt; inde Garcias ab Horto, lib. 1, cap. 4, Simp. med.

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[1] Absinthium somnos allicit olfactu.
[2] Read Lemnius, lib. her. bib. cap. 2, of mandrake.
[3] Hyoscyamus sub cervicali viridis.
[4] Plantam pedis inungere pinguedine gliris dicunt efficacissimum, et quod vix credi potest, dentes inunctos ex sorditie aurium canis somnum profundum conciliare, etc.—Cardan, de rerum varietat.
[5] Veni mecum lib.

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[1] Aut si quid incautius exciderit, aut, etc.
[2] Nam qua parte pavor simul est pudor additus illi.—Statius.
[3] Olisiponensis medicus; pudor aut juvat aut lædit.
[4] De mentis alienat. [5] Mr. Doctor Ashworth.
[6] Facies nonnullis maxime calet rubetque, si se paululum exercuerint; nonnullis quiescentibus idem accidit, feminis præsertim; causa quicquid fervidum aut halituosum sanguinem facit.
[7] Interim faciei prospiciendum ut ipsa refrigeretur; utrumque præstabit frequens potio ex aqua rosarum, violarum, nenupharis, etc.
[8] Ad faciei ruborem aqua spermatis ranarum.
[9] Recte utantur in æstate floribus cichorii saccharo conditis vel saccharo rosaceo, etc.
[10] Solo usu decocti cichorii.

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[1] Utile imprimis noctu faciem illinire sanguine leporino, et mane aqua fragrorum vel aqua floribus verbasci cum succo limonum distillato abluere.
[2] Utile rubenti faciei caseum recentem imponere.
[3] Consil. 21. lib. Unico vini haustu sit contentus.
[4] Idem, consil. 283 Scoltzii. Laudatur conditus rosæ caninæ fructus ante prandium et cænam ad magnitudinem castaneæ. Decoctum radium sonchi, si ante cibum sumatur, valet plurimum.
[5] Cucurbit. ad scapulas appositæ.
[6] Piso. [7] Mediana præ cæteris.

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[1] Succi melancholici malitia a sanguinis bonitate corrigitur.
[2] Perseverante malo, ex quacunque parte sanguinis detrahi debet.
[3] Observat. fol. 154. Curatus ex vulnere in crure ob cruorem amissum.
[4] Studium sit omne ut melancholicus impinguetur: ex quo enim pingues et carnosi, illico sani sunt.
[5] Hildesheim, Spicil. 2. Inter calida radix petroselini, apii, feniculi; inter frigida emulsio seminis melonum cum sero caprino, quod est commune vehiculum.
[6] Hoc unum præmoneo, domine, ut sis diligens circa victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur.

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[1] Laurentius, cap. 15. Evulsionis gratia venam internam alterius brachii secamus.
[2] Si pertinax morbus, venam fronte secabis.—Bruel.
[3] Ego maximam curam stomacho delegabo.—Octa. Horatianus, lib. 2, cap. 7.
[4] Citius et efficacius suas vires exercet quam solent decocta ac diluta in quantitate multa, et magna cum assumentium molestia desumpta. Flatus hic sal efficaciter dissipat, urinam movet, humores crassos abstergit, stomachum egregie confortat, cruditatem, nauseam, appetentiam mirum in modum renovat, etc.

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[1] Piso, Altomarus, Laurentius, cap. 15.
[2] His utendum sæpius iteratis: a vehementioribus semper abstinendum, ne ventrem exasperent.
[3] Lib. 2, cap. 1. Quoniam caliditate conjuncta est siccitas quæ malum auget.
[4] Quisquis frigidis auxiliis hoc morbo usus fuerit, is obstructionem aliaque symptomata augebit.
[5] Ventriculus plerumque frigidus, hepar calidum; quomodo ergo ventriculum calefaciet, vel refrigerabit hepar, sine alterius maximo detrimento?
[6] Significatum per literas, incredibilem utilitatem ex decocto chinæ, et sassafras percepisse.
[7] Tumorem splenis incurabilem sola cappari curavit, cibo tali ægritudine aptissimo: soloque usu aquæ, in qua faber ferrarius sæpe candens ferrum extinxerat, etc.
[8] Animalia quæ apud hos fabros educantur, exiguos habent lienes.
[9] Lib. 1, cap. 17.

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[1] Continuus ejus usus semper felicem in ægris finem est assecutus.
[2] Si hæmorrhoides fluxerint, nullum præstantius esset remedium, quæ sanguisugis admotis provocari poterunt.—Observat. lib. 1, pro hypoc. leguleio.
[3] Aliis apertio hæc in hoc morbo videtur utilissima; mihi non admodum probatur, quia sanguinem tenuem attrahit et crassum relinquit.
[4] Lib. 2, cap. 13. Omnes melancholici debent omittere urinam provocantia, quoniam per ea educitur subtile, et remanet crassum.
[5] Ego experientia probavi, multos hypocondriacos solo usu clysterum fuisse sanatos.
[6] In cruditate optimum, ventriculum arctius alligari.
[7] 3j theriacæ, vere præsertim et æstate.
[8] Cons. 12, lib. 1. [9] Cap. 33.
[10] Trincavellius, consil. 15. Cerotum pro sene melancholico ad jecur optimum.
[11] Emplastra pro splene.—Fernel consil. 45.

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NOTES

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[1] Dropax e pice navali et oleo rutaceo affigatur ventriculo, et toti metaphreni.

[2] Cauteria cruribus inusta.

[3] Fontanellæ sint in utroque crure [4] Lib. 1, cap. 17.

[5] De mentis alienat. cap. 3. Flatus egregie discutiunt materiamque evocant.

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[1] Cavendum hic diligenter a multum calefacientibus atque exsiccantibus, sive alimenta fuerint hæc, sive medicamenta: nonnulli enim, ut ventositates et rugitus compescant, hujusmodi utentes medicamentis, plurimum peccant, morbum sic augentes: debent enim medicamenta declinare ad calidum vel frigidum secundum exigentiam circumstantiarum, vel ut patiens inclinat ad cal. et frigid.

[2] Cap. 5, lib. 7. [3] Piso, Bruel. Mire flatus resolvit.

[4] Lib. 1, cap. 17. Nonnullos præ tensione ventris deploratos illico restitutos his videmus.

[5] Velut incantamentum quoddam ex flatuoso spiritu, dolorem ortum levant.

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[1] Terebinthinam Cypriam habeant familiarem, ad quantitatem deglutiant nucis parvæ, tribus horis ante prandium vel cœnam, ter singulis septimanis prout expedire videbitur; nam præterquam quod alvum mollem efficit, obstructiones aperit, ventriculum purgat, urinam provocat, hepar mundificat.

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